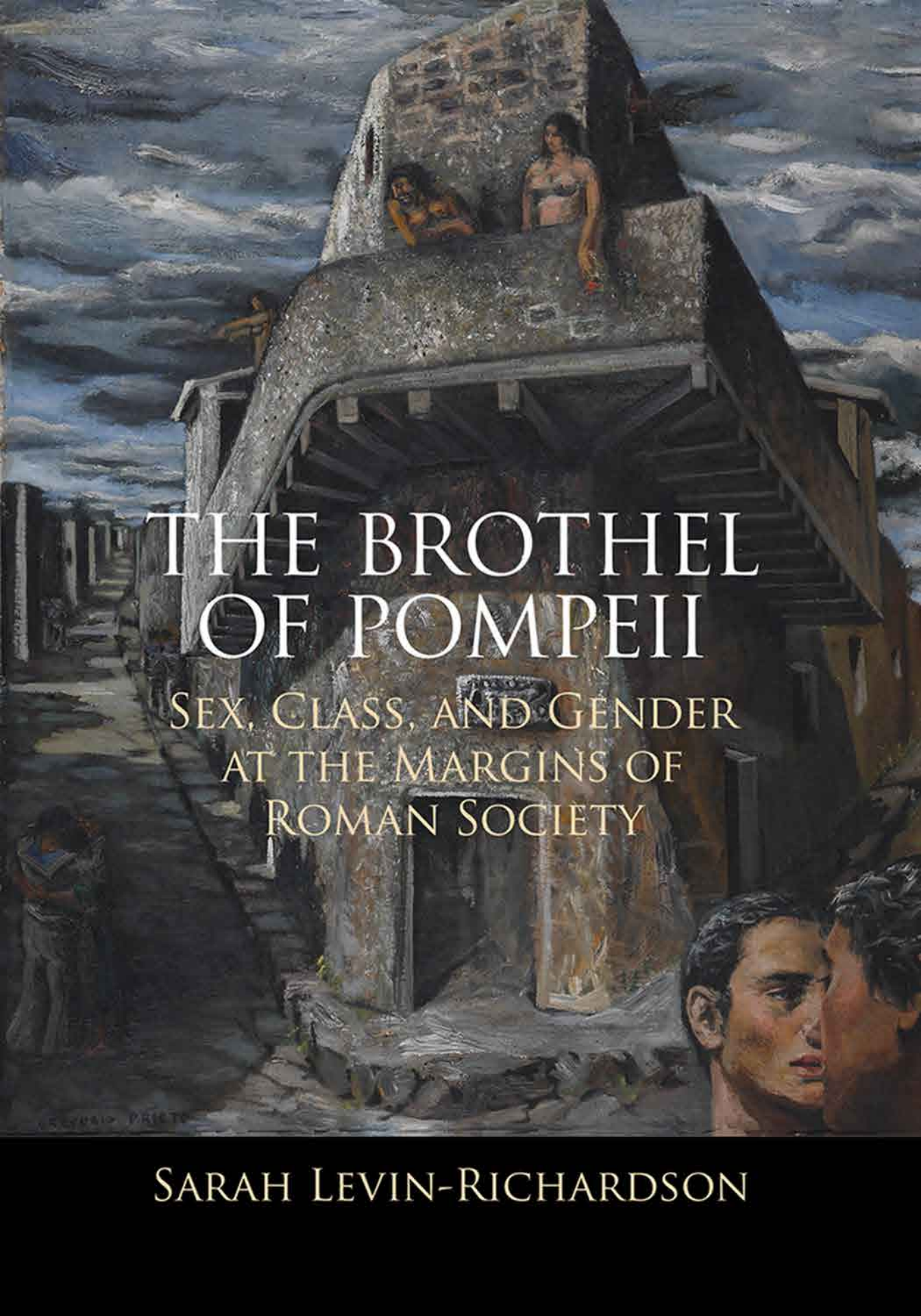




THE BROTHEL OF POMPEII

SEX, CLASS, AND GENDER
AT THE MARGINS OF
ROMAN SOCIETY

SARAH LEVIN-RICHARDSON

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

THE BROTHEL OF POMPEII

In this book, Sarah Levin-Richardson offers the first authoritative examination of Pompeii's purpose-built brothel, the only verifiable brothel from Greco-Roman antiquity. Taking readers on a tour of the structure, including the rarely seen upper floor, she illuminates the subculture housed within its walls. Here, prostitutes could flout the norms of society and proclaim themselves sexual subjects and agents, while servile clients were allowed to act as "real men." Prostitutes and clients also exchanged gifts, greetings, jokes, taunts, and praise. Written in a clear, engaging style and accompanied by ample illustrations and translations of humorous and haunting graffiti, Levin-Richardson's book will become a new touchstone for those interested in the history of women, slavery, and prostitution in the classical world.

Sarah Levin-Richardson is Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Washington, Seattle. Her research has been supported by fellowships from the American Academy in Rome and the Andrew Mellon Foundation. Her cowritten article, "Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary," received the Barbara McManus Award for Best Published Paper from the Women's Classical Caucus in 2017.

THE BROTHEL OF POMPEII

SEX, CLASS, AND GENDER AT THE
MARGINS OF ROMAN SOCIETY

SARAH LEVIN-RICHARDSON

University of Washington, Seattle



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108496872

DOI: [10.1017/9781108655040](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108655040)

© Cambridge University Press 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd., Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Levin-Richardson, Sarah, 1980– author.

TITLE: The brothel of Pompeii : sex, class, and gender at the margins of Roman society /

Sarah Levin-Richardson, University of Washington, Seattle.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2018050910 | ISBN 9781108496872 (hardback : alk. paper)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Brothels–Italy–Pompeii (Extinct city) | Prostitution–Italy–Pompeii (Extinct city) | Pompeii (Extinct city)–Social conditions. | Pompeii (Extinct city)–Social life and customs.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC HQ205.P66 L48 2019 | DDC 306.740937/72568–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018050910>

ISBN 978–1–108–49687–2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To my family

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xix
INTRODUCTION	I
Roman Prostitution and Brothels	2
Approaching the Purpose-Built Brothel	5
Synopsis	9
PART I	II
1 ARCHITECTURE	13
Reconstructing the Purpose-Built Brothel	14
Architectural Comparisons	18
Platforms for Activity	24
Sight Lines	27
2 MATERIAL FINDS	31
Finding the Finds	31
Activities	33
Furnishings	37
Residential Brothel?	38
3 GRAFFITI	40
Pompeian Wall-Writing Culture	42
A Multisensory Experience	43
Distribution and the Use of Space	47
Crafting Personas	56
Community Message Board	61

4	FRESCOES	64
	Curating the Brothel's Sexual Universe	66
	Material Environment and Ambiance	73
	Status and Desire	78
	Priapus	80
5	THE UPPER FLOOR	81
	Reconstructing the Architecture of the Upper Floor and Doorway 20	82
	Frescoes	86
	Finds and Graffiti	86
	Ascertaining Function and Use	91
	Relationships with Neighboring Properties	95
	PART II	97
6	MALE CLIENTS	99
	Experiences of Power and Leisure	100
	Claiming Masculinity	101
	Relationships	108
7	FEMALE PROSTITUTES	111
	Exploitation	112
	Physical and Emotional Labor	113
	Performing Personas	118
	Claiming Subjectivity	119
	Reframing Clients as Objects	124
	Among Themselves	127
8	MALE PROSTITUTES	129
	Aging Out	130
	Sexual Objects	131
	Subjects	132
	Resistance	138

CONCLUSION	140
Integration into the Urban, Visual, and Social Landscape	141
Blurring Boundaries	143
Exploitation and Agency	144
Economic Model of the Purpose-Built Brothel	146
Greek and Roman Prostitution	146
<i>Appendix A: Excavation History and Material Finds</i>	149
<i>Appendix B: Graffiti</i>	153
<i>Notes</i>	163
<i>Bibliography</i>	217
<i>Index Locorum</i>	233
<i>General Index</i>	239
<i>The color plate section can be found between pages 76 and 77.</i>	

ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOR PLATES

- I Fresco i, easternmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway
- II Fresco ii, southern side of the hallway, second from the east
- III Fresco iii, southern side of the hallway, second from the west
- IV Fresco iv, westernmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway
- V Fresco v, southern fresco above the latrine
- VI Fresco vi, northern fresco above the latrine
- VII Fresco vii, northern side of the hallway, between rooms b and c
- VIII Fresco viii, northern side of hallway, between rooms c and d
- IX Right-hand erotic vignette, northeast antechamber wall of room D of the Villa della Farnesina in Rome
- X Giuseppe Fiorelli's cork model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples

FIGURES

1	Purpose-built brothel, facing northwest	<i>page</i> 2
2	Map of the southwestern regions of Pompeii	3
3	Late nineteenth-century photograph of interior of the purpose-built brothel	15
4	Plan of the ground floor	16
5	Interior of room f	17
6	North side of main hallway	17
7	Interior of room d	18
8	Interior, facing east	19
9	West end, facing south	20
10	Threshold of doorway 18	20
11	Plan of part of a subterranean structure, Forum Boarium, Rome	21
12	Plan of a partially subterranean structure, Roman Forum, Rome	22
13	Plan of subterranean level of an elite house along the upper Via Sacra, Rome	23
14	Drawing of wooden bed/couch with <i>fulcrum</i>	26
15	View of the interior from doorway 18	27
16	View of the interior from doorway 19	28
17	Plan of the ground floor, with sight lines between platforms	29
18	View from platform of room c	29

19	West wall of room f	41
20	Graffito of a ship, west wall of room f	44
21	Graffito of a human profile, west wall of room f	45
22	Graffito in the forehead of a human profile, west wall of room f	46
23	Graffito of a bird clutching onto a branch, north wall of room e	47
24	Figural graffiti, possibly architectural in nature, east door jamb of room e	48
25	Circular impressions (possibly fingerprints), north wall of room e	49
26	Distribution of graffiti by space	49
27	Distribution of graffiti by wall	50
28	Locations of graffiti, north wall of room e	52
29	Locations of graffiti, west wall of room f	53
30	Detail of graffiti, west wall of room f	54
31	Location of graffito, west wall of room f	55
32	Detail of graffiti, east doorjamb of room e	57
33	Detail of graffiti, east wall of room e	58
34	Detail of graffiti, west wall of room f	61
35	Locations of figural frescoes	65
36	Sight lines from masonry platforms to figural frescoes	65
37	Fresco i, easternmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway	67
38	Fresco (scene I), room 7 of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii	68
39	Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27686)	68
40	Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples	69
41	Terracotta lamp (MANN inv. 27861)	69
42	Fresco ii, southern side of the hallway, second from the east	70
43	Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27697)	70
44	Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples	71
45	Terracotta lamp from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27865)	71
46	Fresco (scene II), room 7 of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii	72
47	Fresco iv, westernmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway	72
48	Fresco vii, northern side of the hallway, between rooms b and c	73
49	Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27696)	74
50	Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples	74
51	Terracotta lamp from Pompeii or Herculaneum (MANN inv. 27862)	75
52	Fresco (MANN s.n.)	75
53	Fresco vi, northern fresco above the latrine	76
54	Terracotta lamp (MANN inv. 109413)	77
55	Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples	77
56	Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples	79
57	Bronze bell found in doorway 18 (MANN inv. 119069)	82
58	Early twentieth-century drawing of the exterior, facing northwest	83
59	Early twentieth-century photograph of the exterior, facing northwest	84
60	Plan of the upper floor	85
61	Carbonized onions, possibly from the upper floor (SAP inv. 18098/B)	88
62	Graffito of a phallus, west wall of room f	103

63	Map of area around the purpose-built brothel	I 14
64	Detail of graffito, west wall of room f	I 21
65	Detail of graffito, east wall of room f	I 23
66	Line drawing of graffito, north wall of room d	I 33

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project started in 2004 as a seminar paper for Jennifer Trimble's graduate seminar on Art and Text in the Roman World, and from there developed into a chapter of my dissertation. Many thanks to Jen for advising and shepherding me through the development of this project while I was at Stanford, to my dissertation committee (Susanna Braund, Walter Scheidel, and Barb Voss in addition to Jen Trimble) for their feedback and continuing mentorship and support over the years, and to Darian Totten, whose friendship helped me throughout graduate school and beyond.

I am grateful for the opportunity to have spent two years as a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at Rice University's Humanities Research Center, where I shared my work in progress with an interdisciplinary community of fellow fellows, Rice University faculty, and external fellows. I thank Nicholas Shumway, Dean of Humanities; Caroline Levander and Scott McGill, Directors of the HRC; Melissa Bailer, Associate Director of the HRC; Harvey Yunis, Chair of the Department of Classics; Diane Wolfthal, Chair of the Department of Art History; and Dominic Boyer and Cymene Howe of the Department of Anthropology. I also appreciate the friendship and feedback of the other postdoctoral fellows at Rice (including Olivia Banner, Michael Gavin, Jenn Tyburczy, and Wilson Will).

At the University of San Diego, I thank Mary Boyd, Dean of Humanities, who provided research funding for the project; Ken Serbin, Chair of the Department of History; and all of my colleagues in the Department of History (Tom Barton, Iris Engstrand, Michael Gonzalez, Jim Gump, Molly McClain, Kathryn Statler, Yi Sun, and especially Clara Oberle and Colin Fisher).

I conducted the bulk of the research for this project as Andrew Heiskell Postdoctoral Rome Prize Fellow at the American Academy in Rome (with additional research carried out later as a Visiting Scholar). I thank Mark Robbins, President of the AAR; Kim Bowes and John Ochsendorf, Directors of the AAR; Lindsay Harris, Andrew W. Mellon Professor-in-Charge; Cristina Puglisi, Deputy Director; Sebastian Hierl, Drue Heinz Librarian; Giulia Barra, Permissions and Programs Associate; Valentina Follo, Curator, Norton-Van Buren Archaeological Study Collection; Gianpaolo Battaglia, Senior Officer for Residential Services; and the inimitable, late Pina Pasquantonio, Assistant

Director of Operations. My project benefited greatly from consulting the holdings of the Arthur and Janet C. Ross Library and the Barbara Goldsmith Rare Book Room, as well as from conversations with the entire AAR community, including fellow fellows, fellow travelers, visiting scholars, visiting artists, and other friends of the AAR. I'm especially grateful to Massimo Betello, Ippolita Conestabile, Lisa Fentress, Daniele Giorgi, Steven Hughes, Anne Laidlaw, and Anna Serotta for assisting me in various parts of the project. The talented and kind staff at the AAR truly made the Academy a home away from home; a warm thank you is especially owed to Chris Behr, Tiziana del Grosso, Alessandro Lima, and Gabriel Soare of the Rome Sustainable Food Project.

The directors and staff of the libraries and archives I consulted (the SIAV database at Boscoreale; the Archivio Fotografico, Archivio Storico, and store-rooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples; the Archivio Fotografico, Casa Bacco, and the Laboratorio Ricerche Applicate at Pompeii; the Academia Belgica Roma, the École française de Rome; the Sala Studio at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome) were kind enough to allow me to access their holdings, which provided an unmatched resource for this project. I am grateful especially to Dott.ssa Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro, Soprintendente, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli; Dott.ssa Adele Campanelli, Soprintendente, Soprintendenza Archeologia della Campania; Prof. Massimo Osanna, Direttore Generale, Parco Archeologico di Pompei; Dott.ssa Grete Stefani, Direttrice, Ufficio Scavi di Pompei; Dott.ssa Annamaria Sodo, Direttrice, Scavi di Boscoreale; Dott. Paolo Giulierini, Direttore, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott.ssa Valeria Sampaolo, Direzione del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott.ssa Paola Rubino De Ritis, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott. Andrea Milanese, Archivio Storico, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott.ssa Michela Staiano, Archivio Storico, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott. Enrico Angelo Stanco, Archivio Fotografico, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Dott. Michele Borgongino, Archivio Fotografico, Pompeii; Pamela Anastasio, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Belgica, Rome; and Sig.ra Pagano, Casa Bacco, Pompeii.

At the University of Washington, I would like to thank the Department of Classics and its supporters for an Endowed Faculty Fellowship in Classics; Kathleen Woodward, Director of the Simpson Center for the Humanities, for research funding; Alain Gowing and Cathy Connors, Chairs of the Department of Classics; Amity Neumeister and Laura Tagliapietra, Director and Budget and Operations Administrator, respectively, of the UW Rome Center, for their help in securing image permissions; my colleagues in the Department of Classics (in addition to the above, Jim Clauss, Stephen Hinds, Alex Hollmann, Deborah Kamen, Olga Levaniouk, Sarah Stroup,

and especially Ruby Blondell, Kate Topper, and Larry Bliquez); Sandra Joshel, who provided much appreciated feedback; and Deb Raftus, Morag Stewart, and Angela Weaver of the University of Washington Libraries.

In addition to those already mentioned above, I consulted numerous colleagues during my research and writing, who generously shared their expertise with me: Rebecca Benefiel, Bettina Bergmann, Joanne Berry, John Clarke, Magda Codognotto, Hilary Cool, Curtis Dozier, Eugene Dwyer, Steve Ellis, Amanda Hall Height, Rosario Paone, and Ambra Spinelli. I appreciate the insightful comments of the anonymous reviewers of this manuscript, as well as the anonymous reviewers of the various articles and chapters which contributed to parts of this book.

I appreciate the feedback of audiences where I have presented aspects of this project over the years, including at the UNC-Duke Graduate Colloquium; the Puget Sound Society of the AIA; the Portland Society of the AIA; Gonzaga University; Recent Work in Vesuvian Lands (Symposium Campanum); the University of Cincinnati; the University of Victoria; the Classical Association of Vancouver Island; Green College at the University of British Columbia; the Annual Meeting of CAPN at Evergreen College; Stanford University; the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome; the Annual Meeting of the AIA in New Orleans; John Cabot University/the Rome Society of the AIA; Loyola Marymount University; the Annual Meeting of CAMWS in Iowa City; the Istituto Italiano di Cultura in Vancouver; the Annual Meeting of the APA in Seattle; the University of Virginia; the University of Houston; the Annual Meeting of the APA in Anaheim; California State University, Long Beach; Ancient Graffiti in Context at the University of Leicester; the World Archaeological Congress in Dublin; and “Seeing the Past: Building Knowledge of the Past and Present through Acts of Seeing” (the 2005 Stanford Archaeology Center Graduate Student Conference).

I save the most important thank yous for last. My family – Nancy Levin and David Weinfeld; Douglas Richardson and Lianne Cook; Jenny Richardson, Victor Vasquez Lopez, and my smart, delightful nephews; and Helene Kamen – has supported me with good humor and cheer, even when working on the book project meant me living far away or being in less frequent contact than usual. You’re the best family anyone could hope for. I could not have written this book without the tireless love, inspiration, and help of my partner, Deborah Kamen. From her suggestion to turn the dissertation chapter on the brothel into a book, to three long, cold days in the brothel deciphering graffiti, to feedback at nearly all stages of research and writing (all lapses and mistakes remain my own, of course), she has supported me through every stage of this project, and for that I am always and forever grateful.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of Greek and Latin authors and works follow the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Other abbreviations are listed below.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
CB	Casa di Bacco
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CTP</i>	<i>Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum</i>
EDR	Epigraphic Database Roma
<i>GdSop</i>	<i>Giornale dei soprastanti</i>
	[CN] handwritten copy in the Archivio Storico of the Soprintendenza di Napoli
	[CR] handwritten copy in the Archivio dello Stato, Rome
	[OR] original handwritten journal in the Archivio dello Stato, Rome
<i>Graf. Pal.</i>	<i>Graffiti del Palatino</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>LGP</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>Librette</i>	<i>Librette inventariali</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i>
MAH	Magazzino Archeologico di Ercolano
MANN	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
MAP	Magazzino Archeologico di Pompei
<i>Notamenti</i>	<i>Notamenti degli oggetti spediti al Museo Nazionale</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>Rapporto</i>	<i>Rapporto dell'architetto</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
SAP	Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei
SIAV	Sistema Informativo Archeologico Vesuviano
<i>Tab. Vindol.</i>	<i>Tabulae Vindolandae</i>
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>

INTRODUCTION

Pompeii's "purpose-built" brothel (VII.12.18–20; see [Fig. 1](#)), reopened to the public with great fanfare after restorations in 2006,¹ is an internationally celebrated tourist attraction. Indeed, it is one of the most visited sites (if not *the* most visited site) in ancient Pompeii, with up to 455 tourists visiting it each hour.² Excavated in 1862, the small two-story structure in the neighborhood between Pompeii's forum and its main north–south business thoroughfare (see [Fig. 2](#)) has fascinated generations of scholars and tourists alike. More importantly, as the only structure that fulfills all scholarly criteria for an ancient Roman brothel (see more on the criteria below), Pompeii's purpose-built brothel has become the scholarly touchstone against which all other possible brothels from the Roman (and often Greek) world are compared.³ In addition, it plays a central role in discussions of ancient prostitution, gender and sexuality, moral zoning, and erotic art.⁴

Despite this importance, there has yet to be a systematic treatment of the structure, and some categories of evidence, such as the objects found during excavation, remain virtually unknown. This book fills that void by examining all of the purpose-built brothel's material evidence (architecture, archaeological objects, graffiti, and frescoes, including the upper floor) in [Part I](#), and then exploring the physical, social, and emotional experiences of those who patronized and worked in the establishment (male clients, female prostitutes, and male prostitutes) in [Part II](#).



1. Purpose-built brothel, facing northwest. To the right is the Vicolo del Lupanare, and to the left is the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile. The wooden gate on the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile is modern, controlling the flow of tourists into and out of the building. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

ROMAN PROSTITUTION AND BROTHELS

Scholarship over the past few decades has greatly expanded our understanding of ancient Roman prostitution.⁵ Most important for the study at hand, this scholarship has illuminated the legal contours of Roman prostitution, its central role in defining – via contrast – Roman honor, and its essential role in Roman society and ubiquity in the urban landscape.⁶ For those who are new to the study of Roman prostitution, it is fundamental to know that the enterprise was legal (and even taxed at certain times),⁷ and that Roman men patronized both female and (usually young) male prostitutes, many of whom were probably enslaved individuals.⁸ While numerous civic, legal, and social privileges were denied to pimps and prostitutes on account of their lack of honor,⁹ clients suffered no legal (and rarely social) repercussions: shame might result if a Roman man was perceived to spend too much time or money on the services of prostitutes, although this represents a larger concern for fiscal responsibility and the ideals of moderation than for prostitution.¹⁰

An evocative example of the role that brothels were thought to fill comes from a passage of the Augustan-age (late first century BCE through early first century CE) poet Horace, who claims that the notoriously conservative politician and moralist Cato the Elder once said to a young man exiting a brothel, “Well done, sir; for as soon as foul lust swells the veins, it is right for young men to come here, and not to grind away at other men’s wives.”¹¹ Prostitution, then, was thought to direct male sexual energy away from freeborn women (thus preserving men’s sexual rights over their wives and their control of paternity) and toward sexual objects with no honor to be sullied.¹²

Perhaps because of this essential function, prostitution was common in the urban landscape. From the tombs lining the roads leading into Roman cities, to the shadows of the city walls, to the bars, taverns, and inns within cities, to the main entertainment and civic centers, literary and archaeological evidence suggests that sex could be bought nearly anywhere.¹³ Even in the symbolic heart of Rome itself, the Roman Forum, male prostitutes were said to sell



2. Map of the southwestern regions of Pompeii. The purpose-built brothel (VII.12.18–20), indicated with a heavy circle, is located at the intersection of Vicolo del Lupanare (running north–south) and the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile (running east–west). Three blocks to the west is the forum, and one block to the east is Pompeii’s major north–south arterial, the Via Stabia. Underlying map Dobbins and Foss 2007, used with permission of the authors.

themselves on the Vicus Tuscus.¹⁴ At Pompeii, at least, establishments where sex was sold clustered in certain areas of town; this, plus the lack of honor associated with those who sold sex, has led scholars to examine the potential for ancient equivalents of moral zoning. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill argues that Roman magistrates known as aediles zoned dishonorable activities away from Pompeii's main civic and religious areas in order to preserve the honor and purity of those areas;¹⁵ Ray Laurence suggests that an informal system of coercion encouraged establishments that hosted "deviant" activities to be located out of elite women's and children's view.¹⁶ Thomas McGinn raises serious concerns about each argument, offering in his turn – convincingly, in my opinion – that the clustering of establishments where sex was sold was due to economic considerations, namely, proximity to high-traffic areas and thus customers.¹⁷

It is within the context of the pervasiveness of prostitution that the search for Roman brothels – especially at Pompeii, whose unsurpassed state of preservation is owed to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the year 79 CE – must be understood. Identifying Roman brothels in the archaeological record has never been an exact science. Even now debate continues about (1) how we should *define* an ancient Roman brothel, (2) how we can then *identify* those structures among excavated ruins, and (3) whether we should even focus on brothels at all, given the diversity of places where prostitution took place in the Roman world.¹⁸

The clearest articulation of criteria for identifying places of prostitution (at Pompeii, specifically) comes from Wallace-Hadrill's influential 1995 article, though as McGinn's historiography of the topic demonstrates, Wallace-Hadrill certainly was not the first to identify brothels at Pompeii, nor are his criteria universally accepted (they are quite popular, however).¹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill proposes the following three criteria as markers of a structure where sex was sold:²⁰

1. masonry bed in a small room easily accessible to the public
2. sexually explicit frescoes
3. cluster of sexually explicit graffiti

Applying these criteria results in different types of structures where sex may have been sold at Pompeii, including suites at the back of bars or taverns and single rooms opening onto the street.²¹ McGinn proposes two additional criteria for identifying a brothel proper. First, he states that to qualify as a brothel, a major source of income should come from prostitution;²² this then might exclude suites of rooms at the back of bars from the strict definition of a brothel (since presumably the sale of sex was secondary to the sale of food/drink). Next, he notes that a brothel should be able to host more than one prostitute at a time; this in turn excludes the single rooms.²³ What's left are structures that can host multiple prostitutes at the same time and have the

majority of their income from sex. This describes exactly *one* agreed-on structure from the Roman world, the structure to which McGinn gives the name “purpose-built brothel” (VII.12.18–20).²⁴

Brothels proper thus seem to have been the exception rather than the rule. This raises several questions: why invest in, or patronize, a purpose-built brothel if sex could be bought and sold in so many places? On the other hand, why weren’t *more* brothels built? Moreover, if the purpose-built brothel is unique, to what extent can the information gathered from studying it apply *outside* the confines of the structure?

I offer answers to these questions throughout the book and address them directly in the [Conclusion](#), but in short, I suggest that Pompeii’s purpose-built brothel was meant to offer not just a quick tumble with a streetwalker, but a sexual experience with drinking, socializing, and the fiction of emotional relationships. The “business model” (to the extent that we can use that modern phrase) of a purpose-built brothel, however, may not have been economically sustainable or flexible enough, and thus prostitution may have reverted back to places that did not require a purpose-built setup (bars and taverns, for example). Finally, I suggest that these findings have wider implications for our understanding of Roman prostitution, urban space, and social hierarchy.

APPROACHING THE PURPOSE-BUILT BROTHEL

Giuseppe Fiorelli, Pompeii’s Inspector of Excavations when the purpose-built brothel was excavated, described the structure for his 1875 *Descrizione di Pompei* thus: “One came then to a brothel, which if not having other clues could be recognizable from the gloomy and narrow space in which it was confined.”²⁵ The other clues to identifying the structure as a brothel – frescoes with “obscene representations” and erotic graffiti that he “abstain[ed] from referencing” – make Fiorelli a predecessor for two of the three criteria Wallace-Hadrill posited for determining places that sold sex (as above).²⁶ Fiorelli can be seen as a predecessor of modern scholars in another way, too: namely, in approaching the purpose-built brothel through the lens of Roman literature about brothels.

Fiorelli’s description of the “gloomy and narrow space” of the brothel is purposefully meant to recall Petronius’s representation of a brothel in the *Satyricon*, a text written in the reign of Nero (less than a generation before the eruption of Vesuvius) and set in the Bay of Naples.²⁷ When our narrator, Encolpius, has lost his way in a town he is visiting, he relates:

I approached a little old lady selling farm produce. “Tell me, mother,” I said, “have you any idea where I hang out?” She was tickled by such asinine wit, and replied: “Yes; no problem.” She then got up and began to lead the way. I thought she had second sight, and followed after her.

Then, when we reached some hole-in-the-corner place [*in locum secretiorem*], the witty old creature drew back a patchwork curtain, and said: “This must be where you stay.” I was just remarking that I did not recognize the lodging when my eyes fell on some men furtively pacing among the price-tags and naked prostitutes. It slowly dawned on me all too late that I’d been brought to a brothel.²⁸

Not only is the fictional brothel presented as hidden (*in locum secretiorem*), but the section which follows clarifies that it was entered *per amfractus . . . obscurissimos*, “through the darkest twisty alleys.”²⁹ These passages are inevitably brought up in discussions of moral zoning to bolster claims that the purpose-built brothel was likewise “hidden away on the narrow back streets.”³⁰

Other literary depictions also draw attention to the spectacle of naked prostitutes and prowling clients, while adding the sordidness of the atmosphere. In a passage meant to insult the former Roman emperor Claudius by representing his wife Messalina as a prostitute, Juvenal (a writer of satirical poems in the late first and early second centuries CE) paints a picture of Messalina out-whoring whores:

Listen to what Claudius put up with. When his wife realised her husband was asleep, she would leave, with no more than a single maid as her escort. Preferring a mat to her bedroom in the Palace, she had the nerve to put on a nighttime hood, the whore-empress. Like that, with a blonde wig hiding her black hair, she went inside a brothel reeking of ancient blankets to an empty cubicle – her very own. Then she stood there, naked and for sale, with her nipples gilded, under the trade name of “She-Wolf,” putting on display the belly you came from, noble-born Britannicus. She welcomed customers seductively as they came in and asked for their money. Later, when the pimp was already dismissing his girls, she left reluctantly, waiting till the last possible moment to shut her cubicle, still burning with her clitoris inflamed and stiff. She went away, exhausted by the men but not yet satisfied, and, a disgusting creature, with her cheeks filthy, dirty from the smoke of the lamp, she took back to the emperor’s couch the stench of the brothel.³¹

These are the best-known passages featuring Roman brothels – although one could point to others³² – and collectively they form part of Rome’s cultural imaginary about brothels, and from there, the *modern* scholarly imaginary about ancient Roman brothels. It is hard *not* to think of these passages when approaching Pompeii’s purpose-built brothel, but, as McGinn points out, literary representations of brothels “are impossibly vague – they are not really intended as full or accurate descriptions of brothels – and laden with clichés. They betray an upper-class sensibility about how dirty, smoky, and smelly brothels were, in other words, how low-class, rather than impart much information that is useful to us.”³³

It is time, then, to examine the purpose-built brothel on its own terms. In [Part I](#), I approach the purpose-built brothel with standard methodologies for each type of material evidence, having assembled all of the archival documentation related to the excavation and subsequent restorations of the structure (much of it unpublished). This project thus contributes to a current trend in prostitution studies to conduct careful and rigorous examination of the material culture of prostitution, and like that body of work, shows that archaeological evidence is well positioned to provide supplements and correctives to information derived from literary sources.³⁴

In exploring the experiences of the purpose-built brothel's prostitutes and clients in [Part II](#), the project draws inspiration from recent scholarship in Classics and other fields that has sought to recenter the lives of marginalized groups such as slaves, prostitutes, and the working class.³⁵ Rebecca Flemming in 1999 already called for new approaches to ancient Roman prostitution, observing: "there has not been any serious effort to take the perspective of the prostitutes themselves into account, which is one of the most emphatic developments in the new historiography of prostitution emerging elsewhere."³⁶ Indeed, recent scholarship on modern prostitution, especially in the United States, has provided a major source of inspiration for this project. There are numerous areas in which ancient Roman prostitution and modern prostitution in the United States differ, especially in the legality of selling and buying sex, and the entanglement of slavery and prostitution in antiquity. I do not intend to argue that direct comparisons are warranted; however, new directions in the *study* of modern prostitution can provide provocative lines of questioning and new interpretative lenses for exploring ancient prostitution.³⁷

For example, Ronald Weitzer and others have noted that victimization, exploitation, and agency interact in more complex ways than modern scholarly dichotomies of prostitutes as *either* victimized sexual objects *or* agents recognize.³⁸ The key, Weitzer suggests, is to listen to "the ways in which sex workers themselves experience and describe their work."³⁹ David Henry Sterry and R. J. Martin's 2009 edited volume, *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, allows us to do just that. Sterry writes of his motivation, "I want to put a face to people who are glamorized and vilified, worshipped and hated, sexualized and arrested; to celebrate, illuminate, and humanize humans who have lived in this ancient . . . industry."⁴⁰ One of the contributors to the volume, the well-known activist and prostitute Annie Sprinkle, reminds us that prostitutes can be humorous, playful, tough, creative, daring, caring, sexy, talented, and interesting, while also suffering from high levels of violence, shame, stigma, and exploitation.⁴¹ Motivated by these approaches, I attempt to investigate how the purpose-built brothel's prostitutes actively framed themselves and others with words, space, and imagery; I ask questions about prostitutes'

sense of themselves and their interactions – both positive and negative – with other prostitutes, clients, their families and friends, and with broader society.

Another facet of modern prostitution that has received scholarly attention is the emotional labor carried out by prostitutes and sex workers.⁴² In a review of scholarship on the modern sex industry, particularly in the United States, Barbara Brents and Kathryn Hausbeck note, “service workers [including prostitutes] are daily faced with performing prescribed emotions, and evoking these in customers.”⁴³ A study of prostitutes in the United Kingdom found that they anticipate clients’ emotional needs as part of their “business strategy,” in the process crafting elaborate personas to fit with clients’ fantasies and performing certain emotional responses, such as sexual arousal.⁴⁴ Sex workers in contemporary Vietnam who were able to evoke feelings of emotional intimacy in their clients were able to negotiate higher fees (or other types of remuneration), while in some cases, sex workers helped bolster clients’ claims to masculinity in front of other clients.⁴⁵ This scholarship has encouraged me to be attuned to the possibility that emotional labor might be expected along with sexual labor in the purpose-built brothel, and that it could serve multiple roles in the interactions between prostitutes and clients.

Indeed, scholars of antiquity have often used comparative examples from later (better documented) time periods to prompt new questions to ask of the existing evidence or to interpret this evidence in new ways. Keith Bradley, for example, in attempting to recover slave resistance in ancient Rome, notes, “it is here, also, if only for imaginative purposes, that comparative material from New World slave societies proves useful, particularly accounts of flight produced by men and women who had once themselves been slaves.”⁴⁶ C. W. Marshall, too, shows how contemporary sex slavery in Southeast Asia can open up new interpretive angles for the study of New Comedy, and from there, ancient slavery.⁴⁷ McGinn uses historical contexts as diverse as medieval Germany, nineteenth-century Paris, and contemporary Nevada as comparanda to better explore Roman laws and practices regarding prostitution,⁴⁸ and Flemming turns to examples including nineteenth-century England and modern-day Oslo for the same.⁴⁹

Feminist methodologies also inform my approach in [Part II](#), in which I sometimes read the same evidence in multiple ways (for example, exploring different possible authors of the same set of graffiti, or different users of the same item). While “rereading” and “reading through” classical literature to gain access to the experiences of marginalized groups are well known by now, doing so for non-literary sources is less common.⁵⁰ Jennifer Baird, however, notably recommends “acknowledging the ambiguities in our [archaeological] evidence, and the multiple narratives that may be drawn from them.”⁵¹ This in turn “encourages more reflexive and reflective interpretation, enabling the challenging of, rather than replication of, power structures both within our discipline and in the Roman world.”⁵²

SYNOPSIS

I begin the reexamination of the purpose-built brothel with the architecture of the ground floor ([Chapter 1](#)). The brothel's set of simple rooms and masonry platforms, when compared with similar layouts and furnishings, are found to be appropriate not only for sex but also for sleeping and drinking, among other activities. Sight lines into, and within, the structure were carefully arranged, offering views of the interior to passersby while for the most part allowing privacy to those within the small rooms themselves.

The objects found during excavation of the ground floor are the subject of [Chapter 2](#), and they point to a range of activities: clients were probably offered drinks and possibly shaves; prostitutes may have been given gifts by clients; and some of the prostitutes may have lived in the very rooms where they worked. [Chapter 3](#) turns to the ground floor's graffiti, constituting one of the largest clusters of graffiti at Pompeii with close to 150 texts and images. Above all, these graffiti demonstrate an interest in proclaiming names and personas, while the inclusion of personal details embedded the brothel's prostitutes and clients within the wider community. Greetings, death notices, and statements of local town rivalries even suggest that the brothel functioned as a type of community message board.

[Chapter 4](#) investigates the erotic frescoes that line the ground floor's main hallway. The lack both of problematic sexual acts and of graphic versions of sexual poses, combined with figures of ambiguous status, would have encouraged clients of all statuses to envision themselves as participants in the brothel's sexual scenes. Moreover, the objects depicted in the frescoes – basins, footstools, and a lampstand with a lit lamp (among other objects) – are suggestive of the real items and activities within the brothel.

[Part I](#) concludes with the upper floor of the structure ([Chapter 5](#)). Despite the common assumption that prostitution also took place on the upper floor, none of the existing material evidence can be tied to prostitution (nor, however, can prostitution be ruled out). The architecture and decoration indicate that the upper floor was designed to function separately from the ground floor, and based on similarities with other rental properties, it seems most likely that the upper floor consisted of one or more rental units.

[Part II](#) opens with the brothel's clients ([Chapter 6](#)), showing how clients of all statuses were offered experiences that may have been restricted to free men outside the brothel. They were set on a privileged visual axis with views of the erotic frescoes and the structure's prostitutes; they could drink reclining like free men; and they had the opportunity to proclaim their penetrative masculinity on the structure's walls. At the same time, we find glimpses of clients seeking longer-term relationships with some of the structure's prostitutes.

Female prostitutes, the focus of [Chapter 7](#), had to perform emotional labor (e.g., praising clients for their sexual prowess) in addition to sexual labor. Through this work, however, they could foster relationships with clients who might be able to better their living conditions. Some prostitutes proclaimed themselves as sexual subjects and agents in graffiti (encountering pushback in the process), and others turned *clients* into objects of ridicule or scorn. When alone, prostitutes could practice self-care and reclaim their humanity.

Last but certainly not least, [Chapter 8](#) teases out the ways in which the experiences of male prostitutes coincided with and diverged from those of female prostitutes. Like female prostitutes, male prostitutes performed their personas in complex ways – including, perhaps, proclaiming sexual agency – and attempted to form emotional bonds with clients out of necessity or to mitigate their vulnerability. This vulnerability was increased by the prospect of “aging out” of sexual desirability in young adulthood. Male prostitutes did have unique avenues for resistance, however, in that they could bodily penetrate clients (or threaten to do so); for this reason, the brothel’s fresco of Priapus may have resonated with male prostitutes in its ability to punish wrongdoers with phallic penetration.

Though the purpose-built brothel is unique architecturally, the exploitation experienced by the prostitutes, and the avenues for agency among both prostitutes and clients, certainly was not. I hope this book will encourage the continued examination of the commodification of emotions,⁵³ the numerous ways in which power and exploitation operated on individual and societal levels, and the arenas for resistance, agency, and community that individuals carved out for themselves in the face of dire circumstances.⁵⁴

PART I

ONE

ARCHITECTURE

Pompeii's purpose-built brothel has become the paradigmatic example against which all other possible brothels are compared. The certainty with which it has been identified, however, has led to a virtual lack of attention to the structure's architecture and what it might tell us about the expectations and experiences of those who worked in and patronized the establishment. By flipping the usual question and asking instead how the brothel – the ground floor in particular (the upper floor is discussed in [Chapter 5](#)) – compares with other structures, we find overlooked similarities with low-status establishments that hosted a range of activities, from slave or guest lodging to eating and drinking. Likewise, the built-in masonry platforms – often taken as a sign of the bleakness of the establishment due to their presumed lack of comfort – have more similarities with better-quality sleeping and dining furniture than previously thought, and could have hosted dining, drinking, sleeping, cuddling, and conversing, in addition to sex. Finally, examination of sight lines within the structure reveals that the brothel set clients on a privileged visual axis; at the same time, views from room to room were generally blocked (though prostitutes could use their knowledge of the structure to find ways around this). As a whole, moreover, the structure was made penetrable to the view of passersby, allowing communication between those inside and outside the structure.

RECONSTRUCTING THE PURPOSE-BUILT BROTHEL

The purpose-built brothel as it appears today is the product of various episodes of destruction and restoration, ranging from damage to the structure caused by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, to the excavation of the structure in 1862 and subsequent spurts of restoration (some of which were later found to cause harm), to damage caused by bombing during World War II, to the most recent restoration campaign conducted between 2004 and 2006.¹ By examining excavation reports, photographs, and restoration reports alongside visual analysis of the structure as it appears today, we can assess what the architecture of the purpose-built brothel looked like in antiquity, or at least in its last phase, dated to 72–79 CE on the basis of a coin impression that was made during the last pre-eruption renovation of the structure.²

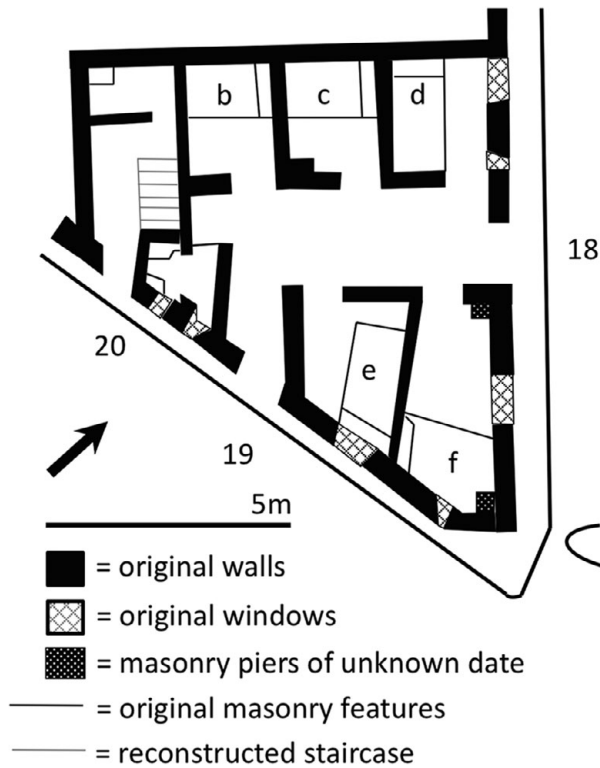
As can be seen in photographs taken shortly after the structure's excavation (e.g., Fig. 3), the ground floor of the structure survived the eruption mostly intact, apart from its ceiling, which likely collapsed due to the weight of volcanic debris. The largest intervention has been the reconstruction, in 1907–1908 and then again in 1950, of the ground floor's ceiling.³ As Director of Excavations during the first reconstruction, Antonio Sogliano made sure that the arrangement of support beams for the ceiling followed the layout of the original beams, whose carbonized remnants could still be found in rectangular sockets along the interior of the structure's walls.⁴ Other than this reconstruction, interventions on the ground floor have focused mostly on shoring up and strengthening the existing architecture.⁵ Many of these efforts were designed to counteract the weight of the upper floor and overhanging balcony once they were reconstructed (although other structural interventions have occurred sporadically over the past 150 years).⁶ For example, several modern piers have been built into the walls of the ground floor to support the ceiling beams and the upper floor, and can still be seen extending from floor to ceiling in various parts of the structure.⁷

The current plan of the ground floor thus has a high degree of fidelity to the original layout of the structure (Fig. 4), encompassing just about 500 square feet.⁸ Five small rooms, each with a masonry platform, open off a wide central hallway accessed directly from doorway 18 and the *Vicolo del Lupanare* (which is the modern name for the street; we aren't sure how Pompeiians named their streets). Another (shorter) hallway leads into the structure from doorway 19 and the *Vicolo del Balcone Pensile* (again, the modern name of the street). At the intersection of the hallways is a latrine – a common feature at Pompeii, where nearly every house and shop has one⁹ – behind a half wall and up one step.¹⁰ No paving has been preserved, and thus beaten earth seem to be the most likely option for the floor, as was common for the properties in the brothel's insula (VII.12).¹¹



3. Late nineteenth-century photograph of interior of the purpose-built brothel, facing west from doorway 18, ca. 1870. At the back of the hallway is a latrine shielded by the partial-height wall, and to the right is the doorway to room b. To the left are the doorways to rooms e (farther) and f (nearer). Photograph by Sommer & Behles, No. 355, *Casa pubblica*.

The rooms vary in dimensions and provisions for light.¹² Room f is the largest and best lit, with windows high up (as is common in Roman structures) on both the south and east walls (see Figs. 4 and 5). Rooms b and c, on the other hand, are the smallest and do not have their own windows. Light filters into these rooms from transom windows above their doorways (Fig. 6; note that room d also has a transom window, despite also having two windows in its east wall). Extra light is provided to room c through an opening in the party wall with room d that aligns with the northern window of room d (Fig. 7). The hallways are lit by a wide window above the lintel of doorway 18 (Fig. 8), as well as a slit window in the southwest corner of the building and another slit window above the latrine,



4. Plan of the ground floor. After Paone and Morichi in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2.

high enough in the wall for light to reach past the latrine's half-wall screen (Fig. 9).¹³

Unfortunately, certain architectural details remain unclear, especially regarding exterior and interior doors. The stone threshold of doorway 18 (Fig. 10) seems to be original, as Giuseppe Fiorelli mentions a threshold of “Vesuvian stone” in his 1862 report for the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*.¹⁴ The threshold, broken into two pieces, has round pivot holes for two doors that would swing inward – a common arrangement¹⁵ – though whether there was a locking mechanism remains unclear.¹⁶ Doorway 18 has been fitted with at least three modern doors over the past 150 years, with accompanying jambs and architraves in either wood or reinforced cement.¹⁷ Not only has the latter erased any original details concerning the doorjambs and architrave, but even the height of the doorway has changed over the various restorations.¹⁸ Doorway 19, too, has been fitted with at least one modern door and had its architraves and doorjambs reconstructed at least twice with reinforced cement, likewise making assessment of its original details difficult.¹⁹ Indeed, one of the results of Amadeo Maiuri's 1950 restoration campaign was a regularization of all the exterior doors of the brothel.²⁰ We thus remain in the dark about some fundamental aspects of the brothel, such as if the prostitutes were locked into the structure,²¹ or if the brothel was locked and empty at certain times.

There is also frustratingly slim evidence concerning the doorways of the individual rooms. Fiorelli claimed that the entrance to room f was “closed like the others by a wooden door,” mentioning as evidence an iron hook in the west wall of room e near its doorway, which he thought was for keeping the door open.²² However, no trace of this feature is still visible, nor is it ever mentioned by anyone else, to my knowledge. Some scholars continue to assert that there would have been wooden doors, though clusters of graffiti on the doorjambs of three of the rooms should give us pause, as doorjamb graffiti has raised similar doubts at Villa San Marco at Stabia.²³

What can we say, then, about the doorways of the rooms? The presence of transom windows in other Pompeian structures has been interpreted as providing light to rooms when their doors were closed (as in VI.7.15),²⁴ and thus the presence of transom



5. Interior of room f. Note the windows with slanted sills high on both exterior walls, and the masonry platform with a few areas of extant stucco. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



6. North side of the main hallway, facing west. Doorways to rooms b (farther) and c (nearer) are visible, as are the transom windows above rooms b, c, and d. Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



7. Interior of room d. Note the opening for light in the party wall with room c (on the left), which aligns with the room d's northern window (at right); the room also has a smaller window that is not visible in this picture. A few traces of stucco can be seen on the side of the masonry platform. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

windows above rooms b, c, and d might suggest that these rooms were able to be closed off. At the very least, we can say that the brothel did not have the most common type of doors used at Pompeii, since those require stone thresholds (which the doorways to the rooms do not have). Curtains remain a possibility, and are the option favored by Michel Zajak, who draws attention to their affordability, their appearance in (albeit problematic) literary representations of brothels, and the possible fabric impressions on the brothel's walls (for which, see pp. 44–45).²⁵

ARCHITECTURAL COMPARISONS

While no other structure has exactly the same set of architectural and decorative features as the purpose-built brothel, several types of buildings serve as comparisons for one or more of the brothel's features. For most of these comparative examples, identifying their function(s) has been difficult and provoked decades – sometimes more than a century – of debate. While this lack of certainty lessens the probative value of these examples, when taken together, the comparanda

can still help us approximate the associations that the brothel's architecture brought to the minds of its clients and prostitutes.

The brothel most closely resembles three types of spaces. First, the minimal decorative treatment of the brothel's rooms – plain white stucco walls and a beaten earth floor – evokes low-status spaces in Pompeian houses that have been associated with a range of utilitarian purposes, including work, storage, and housing for slaves or animals.²⁶ Sometimes these utilitarian spaces constitute one or two discrete rooms in a Pompeian house – such as the so-called porter's room and kitchen on opposite sides of the central hall of the House of the Prince of Naples (VI.15.8)²⁷ – and other times they occupy sets of rooms off a narrow corridor or in a wing or lower level of the house. In the House of the Menander (I.10.4), for example, a latrine and set of undecorated rooms (35–38) open off a narrow corridor that dog-legs its way back from the house's peristyle, in the process passing the entrance to the stable and one of the work areas of the residence. Scholars still debate the precise use of the small rooms, but they are commonly thought to be lodging for slaves (giving them easy access to



8. Interior, facing east toward doorway 18. Note the window above doorway 18. The wooden doors are modern replicas of the double doors that would have opened into structure. The doorways to room f (on the far right) and room e (near right) can be seen, along with the doorway to room c (near left) and room d (far left). Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

work areas and keeping them out of sight), storage spaces, or – given the flexibility of Roman room usage and the lack of attention to the comfort of slaves – both.²⁸ The combination of storage, work, and slave lodging has likewise been posited for an underground level of the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1), which contains a kitchen, latrine, and rooms with storage for wine and oil.²⁹ Thus, while it is difficult to establish the definitive function(s) of these rooms,³⁰ we can nonetheless say that the brothel's set of small undecorated rooms recalls their low status and utilitarian nature.

A second comparison can be made with the roughly dozen single rooms at Pompeii that open directly onto the street.³¹ Since these spaces are furnished with a masonry platform and occasionally erotic frescoes or graffiti, they have been labeled prostitutes' cribs or *cellae meretricae* (a phrase scholars have made up for them).³² Their connection with prostitution is rarely clear, or exclusive of other functions, however. Thomas McGinn asks if some, in addition to hosting prostitution, might be for storage or watchmen; Mary Beard suggests that they may have been used as inexpensive, temporary housing; and Anise Strong offers that they may have functioned as shops by day and rented out at



9. West end, facing south toward doorway 19. Note the half-wall shielding the toilet behind it, as well as the two small windows providing light to this end of the structure. Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



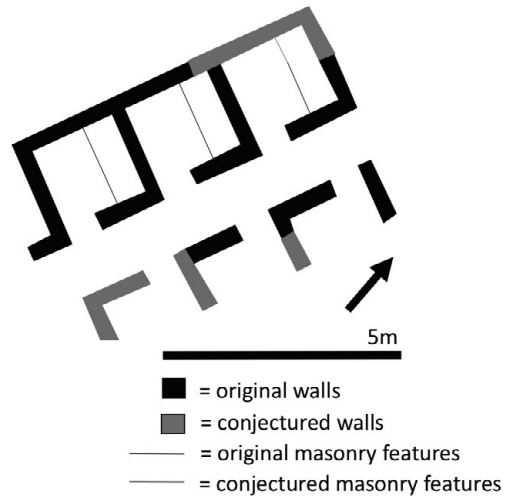
10. Threshold of doorway 18, facing west (toward the interior). Note pivot holes for doors which would have swung inward. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

night for sex.³³ In other words, we aren't really sure of their function(s). For example, one such room (VII.11.12), opening onto the Vicolo del Lupanare just a few paces south of the brothel, has long been identified as a prostitute's room due to its masonry platform, tufa phallus projecting into the street from above the doorway, and proximity to the brothel. However, directly next to its doorway along the street façade is a shrine composed of a large fresco with religious imagery (two snakes coil up to an altar); moreover, the religious connotations of phallic iconography – warding off the evil eye and bringing luck – are well known.³⁴ In addition to the religious imagery, other information that

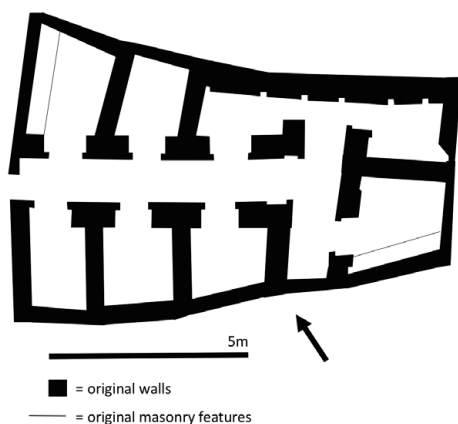
might complicate the identification of this space includes the warning *otiosis · locus · hic non est discede | morator*, “this is not the place for idlers. Go away,

loiterer" (*CIL* 4.813), which was painted on the shrine, and the discovery of sixteen lamps in the room itself.³⁵ Perhaps the room served as the lodging for someone whose job was taking care of the neighborhood shrine, or helping individuals find their way home in the dark, or even enforcing the painted warning.³⁶ The comparison with these spaces is thus complicated by our lack of knowledge about what they were used for, though they, like the utilitarian spaces in houses, would have had lower-status associations due to their small space and simple decoration.

Finally, the brothel's layout finds some analogues outside Pompeii, most notably in a few structures of debated function in Rome.³⁷ One of these was found in the early twentieth century in the Forum Boarium. Dated to the late Republic, it was definitively put out of use when the northern part of the structure was cut by the foundations for the Arch of Janus (*Fig. 11*).³⁸ One part of this subterranean structure has three small rooms on either side of a corridor, for a total of six rooms.³⁹ On the right side of each room, which measure a little under 2 meters by 2 meters, was a masonry platform or seat 70 centimeters deep, 65 centimeters tall, and the length of the room, originally covered in stucco (traces of which remained).⁴⁰ This makes them similar in size to the brothel's platforms (on which, see more below), which averaged 100 centimeters deep, 60–65 centimeters tall, and 191 centimeters long. The floors were nicer than the brothel's, with either travertine slabs that had been covered in red plaster or *opus spicatum* (bricks set in a herringbone design), and travertine thresholds indicate that there were doors to the rooms.⁴¹ Another set of small rooms, positioned to either side of two corridors, was found a few months later and attributed to the same building: not only was the layout of the rooms similar to the first set of rooms, but so too were the construction techniques (*opus reticulatum* walls, travertine floors covered in red plaster, masonry platform along the right side of each room).⁴² Perhaps most interesting in terms of this structure's function were the finds, which included terracotta cups, plates, and lamps; glass vessels; and a few animal bones and teeth.⁴³ There was thus evidence for dining and drinking in the structure.⁴⁴



11. Plan of part of a subterranean structure, Forum Boarium, Rome. The northern part of the structure was cut by foundations for the Arch of Janus. Note that several other sets of rooms with a similar layout were found in later excavations, and attributed to the same structure. Plan after Gatti 1901 355 and Lugli 2012 [1947] fig. 28.



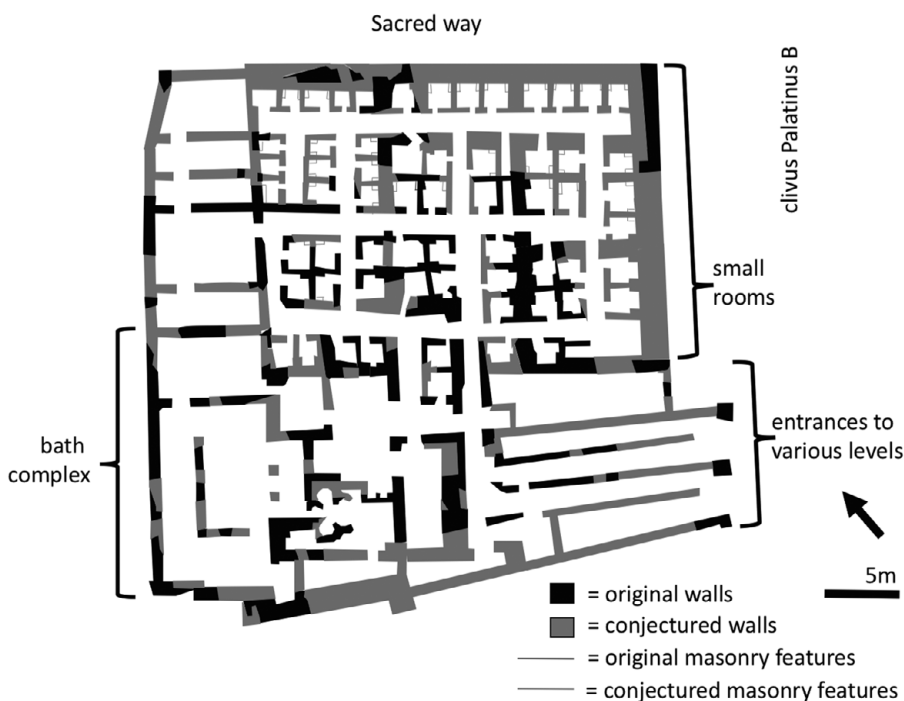
12. Plan of a partially subterranean structure, Roman Forum, Rome, along the Via Sacra near the Temple of Antonius Pius and Faustina. Plan after Lugli 2012 [1947] fig. 27.

Another set of small rooms (Fig. 12) – three to either side of a corridor, plus another two off a transverse corridor – was found as part of a partially subterranean, Republican-era complex in the Roman Forum along the Via Sacra, southeast of the (later) Temple to Antoninus Pius and Faustina.⁴⁵ Each room has travertine thresholds (thus indicating doors) and travertine floors that were overlaid by two layers of *opus spicatum* flooring, and a tall masonry structure stands against the wall of at least one room.⁴⁶ Sometimes called the *carcer* or “prison” after Giacomo Boni’s long-disproven first identification, these rooms are of unknown use.⁴⁷

Some think they served as lodging for the slaves of an attached residence, others that they were the basement of a shop or the storerooms of a house, others that it may have been a brothel.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to support any particular theory.

A third example from Rome (Fig. 13) – while at a much larger scale – may be able to support some of the observations already made. This structure, a subterranean level of an elite house along the Upper Via Sacra (i.e., the edge of the Roman Forum), is thought to have had about sixty small rooms, and was accessed from its own, separate entrance from the street.⁴⁹ Each room was furnished with masonry piers along the back wall to support a platform or bench measuring roughly 60–80 centimeters deep by 45–60 centimeters tall by 180–190 centimeters long,⁵⁰ making them similar in size to the platforms of the brothel and the structure found in the Forum Boarium. Like the latter structure and Boni’s so-called jail, these rooms also had travertine thresholds (and thus probably doors), though there was more variety in flooring, with *opus spicatum* in the hallways but *opus signinum* (a paving of crushed tiles in mortar) – occasionally including marble chips – in the rooms themselves.⁵¹ These small rooms shared the subterranean level with a bath complex and a possible lararium (household shrine), and later excavations revealed a drinking/eating establishment – a kitchen with a masonry sink and hearth, and at least one additional room for eating/drinking – on the ground level along with the elite residence.⁵²

Boni, who excavated this area in the early twentieth century, thought the lower level served as slave quarters for the residence above.⁵³ Andrea



13. Plan of subterranean level of an elite house along the Upper Via Sacra, Rome, on the edge of the Roman Forum. Plan after Carandini and Papi 1999 plate XLII, Carandini 2010 fig. 45.

Carandini, Patrizia Basso, and Filippo Coarelli concur, the first suggesting that a large number of domestic slaves would be needed by the massive aristocratic residence above, which was probably owned by bigwigs of Republican Rome (he argues for Marcus Aemilius Scaurus and Publius Clodius Pulcher, among others).⁵⁴ Partially based on similarities with Pompeii's purpose-built brothel and partially based on ruling out other options (though with sometimes dubious logic), Giuseppe Lugli took the lower level as a brothel, perhaps working in tandem with the bath complex or eating/drinking establishment.⁵⁵ Maria Barraco combines elements of these theories, suggesting that Marcus Aemilius Scaurus used or rented out the basement of his house to offer various pleasures – food, drink, and erotic entertainment – in association with the eating/drinking establishment on the ground level, perhaps even as a way to curry favor in the increasingly competitive political and social environment of the Late Republic, and that Publius Clodius Pulcher then bought the property as an investment.⁵⁶

Maria Tomei provides the most convincing theory to date of the possible function(s) of the space. After noting that the lower level would be conducive

neither to servile work nor to housing slave families, and thus calling its identification as slave lodging into question, she offers the first examination of the objects found in the structure.⁵⁷ Among the finds are an estimated 1,500 *terra sigillata* vessels (including cups and bowls), around 5,000 fragments of terracotta lamps, 50 terracotta perfume vessels, and nearly 300 mussel shells.⁵⁸ Thus, we have evidence of drinking and eating (the cups, bowls, and mussel shells), anointing (the perfume vessels), and lighting, and the quantity of these items indicates quite intensive activity.⁵⁹ Cooking and serving wares were also found, though some of these may have fallen from the upstairs eating/drinking establishment.⁶⁰ Moreover, while the decorative motifs on these items include floral and geometric elements, Bacchic themes, and a few myths, there is a total lack of erotic scenes on any of the 500 or so decorated lamps, which is surprising in any case (given the popularity of erotic motifs on lamps), but even more so for a space that some identify as a brothel.⁶¹ Ultimately, Tomei argues that the lower level was an establishment where one could eat and sleep, and that prostitution might occur there as well, but not as the primary purpose.⁶²

Based on these comparisons, the brothel's layout and decorative treatment would evoke lower-status spaces – whether small or large slave quarters, storage areas, work areas, or inexpensive lodging – and some eating and drinking establishments, which themselves may have overlapped with the previous category. This latter association is also activated by the brothel's masonry platforms, which we turn to next.

PLATFORMS FOR ACTIVITY

Starting with the excavators' description and Fiorelli's 1862 report in the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*, nearly all popular and scholarly literature describes the brothel's masonry platforms (see, e.g., Fig. 5) as “beds” complete with accompanying masonry “pillows.”⁶³ The brothel's platforms thus appear to be hard, bare substitutes for the “real” thing, an impression that leads to characterizations of the brothel itself, or its ambiance, as rather grim.⁶⁴ On examination, however, the brothel's platforms are more similar to higher-quality furnishings for both sleeping and dining than previously thought. Not only does this suggest a (relatively) more refined environment than scholars have usually imagined, but it also raises the possibility that the platforms were used for activities beyond sex.

While the brothel's platforms might seem small compared with modern beds, they are in fact larger than the average ancient Greek dining couch. The depth of the brothel's platforms is about 100 centimeters in all rooms except room f (whose platform measures 150 centimeters deep), and the length of the platforms, while varying to a much greater extent, averages 191 centimeters

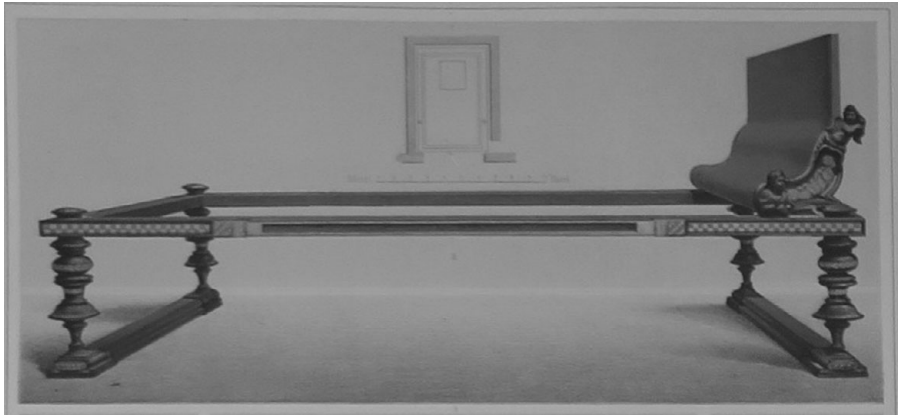
TABLE I *Size of platforms in the purpose-built brothel and of select furniture elsewhere*

Room/Example	Depth (cm)	Length (cm)	Area (m ²)
b	99	166	1.64
c	100	181	1.81
d	100	220	2.2
e	100	200	2
f	150	186	2.79
Greek couch (average)	80–90	180–190	1.44–1.71
Wooden bed/couch in Insula Orientalis II.10 (Herculaneum)	106	195	2.07
Wooden bed/couch in VII.2.18	120	233	2.8

(see Table 1).⁶⁵ An ancient Greek dining couch, on the other hand, averaged 80–90 centimeters deep by 180–190 centimeters long.⁶⁶ The Greek couch allowed up to two individuals to drink and dine together,⁶⁷ and we imagine in the erotic atmosphere of the Greek symposium that sexual activity occurred on those couches as well. In comparison, then, the platforms in the brothel might have seemed quite adequate for couples, as the area of every platform is greater than the area of typical Greek dining couches.

Indeed, although Roman beds/couches – sleeping and dining furniture generally took the same form and can only be distinguished by context, and even then with difficulty⁶⁸ – were generally larger than both Greek dining furniture and the brothel's platforms,⁶⁹ some of the brothel's platforms approximate, or even surpass, examples of wooden sleeping/dining furniture from Pompeii and Herculaneum. In one case, the platforms of rooms d and f in the brothel are larger (at 2.2 square meters and 2.79 square meters, respectively) than a wooden bed/couch from Insula Orientalis II.10 at Herculaneum (measuring 2.07 square meters).⁷⁰ Even the platform of room e is only marginally smaller (at 2.0 square meters). In another example, the area of the platform in room f (2.79 square meters) is nearly identical to the 2.8 square meters of a wooden sleeping/dining couch from the House of Gaius Vibius (VII.2.18).⁷¹ Since most Roman dining couches were meant to hold three individuals, we might similarly imagine that up to three individuals could fit on the platform in room f.⁷²

The brothel's masonry platforms have further parallels to wooden sleeping/dining furniture. One of the two major types of wooden beds/couches had tall boards at the back and sides, and were almost all found positioned snugly at one end of a room, in some cases even taking up the majority of the room's space.⁷³ For example, the wooden bed/couch from Insula Orientalis II.10 at Herculaneum, discussed above, occupies the whole width of its room's back



14. Drawing of wooden bed/couch with *fulcrum*. From Nicollini 1862 plate XXXV.

wall and two-fifths of the room's length.⁷⁴ Likewise, some Pompeian examples of wooden beds/couches – which disintegrated but left voids in the volcanic debris that were filled in with plaster by excavators – fit the width of their rooms exactly, as in a bed/couch from room 1 of the House of the Lararium of Achilles (I.6.4), or the bed/couch from the House of the Ephebe (I.7.11), which takes up two-thirds of the room.⁷⁵ The position of these beds/couches in their respective rooms is thus analogous to the position of the brothel's platforms in each room (see Figs. 4 and 5; room e is an exception).

In addition, the brothel's masonry "pillows" may replicate the curved wooden *fulcrum* – thought to stop the furniture's cushion from falling off the end – delineating one end of elaborate wooden beds/couches at Pompeii and elsewhere (see Fig. 14).⁷⁶ Even as preferences changed from wooden beds/couches with *fulcra* to those with side- and back-boards in the middle of the first century CE, some beds/couches with boards replicated aspects of the *fulcrum*.⁷⁷ Two beds/couches from Herculaneum have boards with curved lower halves that, according to Stephan Mols, are meant to evoke *fulcra*, while another bed/couch has an angled headboard for the same reason.⁷⁸ In at least four Pompeian examples, masonry platforms that are part of dining areas replicate a *fulcrum* in masonry, too.⁷⁹ Sometimes these masonry *fulcra* are squared off, but in at least one case, from a masonry triclinium in the garden of the House of Tribus Valentes (III.2.1), the *fulcra* are rounded like the brothel's.

Finally, the brothel's platforms were decorated with painted red ribbons on white stucco – traces of which still remain (see Figs. 5 and 7) – forming yet another parallel with higher quality furnishings.⁸⁰ Masonry triclinia in outdoor or semi-outdoor spaces, such as the one just described in the garden of the House of Tribus Valentes (III.2.1), were almost always covered with painted stucco, and often formed part of elaborate decorative schemes.⁸¹

In sum, an ancient viewer may not have found the brothel's masonry platforms as stark and indicative of dire circumstances as many modern visitors do. The platforms were large enough for two and maybe even three (in the case of room f) individuals, and based on comparisons with other Roman furniture, could have hosted drinking, dining, and sleeping in addition to sex. The platforms also could have been used in unexpected or unintended ways. The locations of graffiti in the rooms, for example, suggest that individuals were kneeling and even standing on the platforms to leave their messages on the walls.⁸² Fiorelli's claim that he could discern the marks left by numerous individuals' shoes on the wall just above the foot of the masonry platform, while most likely fanciful, is nevertheless an evocative reminder of the real individuals who used these platforms.⁸³

SIGHT LINES

Despite the brothel's small size, its architecture was designed to privilege certain viewpoints and viewers. The viewpoint from doorway 18 allowed an individual to see all the doorways of the five rooms, as well as all of the erotic frescoes lining the hallway above the door lintels (see Fig. 15).



15. View of the interior from doorway 18, facing west. Note the erotic frescoes lining the hallway above the level of the door lintels. Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



16. View of the interior from doorway 19. The latrine is behind the half-wall on the left, and room b is directly ahead. Erotic panel vii is to the right of the transom window above room b, and erotic panels v and vi become visible on the left above the latrine as one progresses into doorway 19. Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

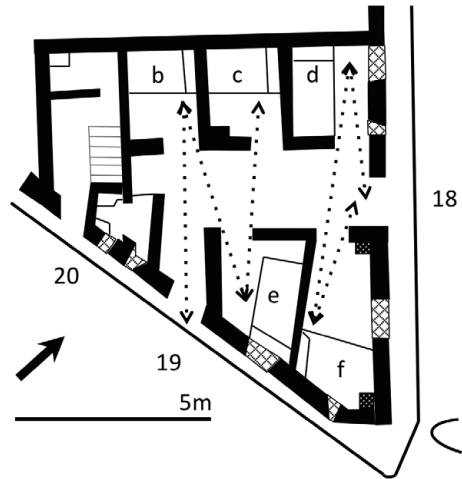
In Roman architecture, visual axes were important for (among other things) conferring or denying status to a viewer.⁸⁴ For example, the best view from a house's dining area was reserved for favored guests, and the privileging of this viewpoint can be seen especially well in cases where the regular spacing of columns outside a dining area has been altered to prevent interference with this viewpoint, or when a fountain or statue is made to align with the privileged diner's view, both of which happened in the House of the Menander.⁸⁵ On the other end of the spectrum, views into and out of work areas were often restricted or blocked, reinforcing the marginality of slaves and workers, as was the case with the narrow dog-legged corridors leading to service areas in the House of the Menander.⁸⁶ Similar to how privileged sight lines of Roman houses could confer status on an esteemed dinner guest, the privileged sight line from doorway 18 gave visual power to individuals entering from this doorway – especially clients.

Doorway 19 offers a less privileged visual axis, with only one of the five rooms visible (room b; see Fig. 16), and, at best, three of the original eight erotic frescoes (frescoes v–vii; see further Chapter 4). This doorway nevertheless allowed passing individuals – potential customers as well as everyday folks who lived or worked in the area – a direct view to the platform in room b, where a male or female prostitute may have been reclining. That the view into this room could at times be blocked by closing door 19 or whatever served to screen off room b may have added excitement to walking past the structure, in that a passerby may or may not catch a glimpse of one of the prostitutes. Indeed, as one walked by, parts of the prostitute's body would come into view and then disappear again, with the order of the walk-by “peep show” changing (i.e., head first, then torso; or torso first, then head) depending on which direction someone was walking (i.e., toward the Vicolo del Lupanare or coming from it).

The corollary is that this sight line also offered visual control over the doorway to whoever was on the platform in room b. This might have been

especially important if this doorway were used by staff.⁸⁷ In that case, surveillance may have been intended to keep tabs on the prostitutes and ensure their timely arrival after errands – fetching water, for example (on which, see pp. 113–115) – or to prevent them from leaving without approval.⁸⁸ If doorway 19 functioned as the intended exit for clients, as some suggest,⁸⁹ whoever was stationed in room b could help orchestrate clients' movement into and out of the brothel. The direct visual access between doorway 19 and room b may also have facilitated communication between those inside and outside the structure. One might imagine a prostitute in room b verbally soliciting men walking past, or initiating conversations with individuals they knew. In this way, room b may have offered prostitutes an opportunity to further their own relationships even while working.⁹⁰

Finally, the sight lines between rooms also warrant attention. As can be seen by the staggering of doorways and the placement of masonry platforms (Fig. 4), the brothel's architecture for the most part blocks views from one room's platform into other rooms (even if there were no doors or curtains), offering potential privacy to prostitutes and their clients. However, sight lines could skirt just past the edges of walls (Fig. 17). For example, someone on the platform of room c could see someone on the platform of room e if both were in a particular spot on (or even overhanging) their platforms. If even one of the pair didn't know this "sweet spot," their views to other platforms would be blocked, as is the case in Figure 18, where one cannot see the platform in room e, opposite. Thus, for those with intimate bodily knowledge of the spatial and visual dynamics of the structure – prostitutes and maybe repeat customers – there were possibilities for lines



17. Plan of the ground floor, with sight lines between platforms. Underlying plan after Paone and Morichi in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2.



18. View from the platform of room c. The doorway of room e is across the hall on the right, and erotic panels ii–iv can be seen in upper register. Transparent plastic panels protect the walls of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

of sight and communication between the platforms of the rooms, offering opportunities to chat with each other and exchange non-verbal cues even when in different rooms.⁹¹

As we will see in the following chapters, the brothel's material objects (Chapter 2) and graffiti (Chapter 3) likewise point to spheres of activities beyond sex, while Chapter 4 shows how the brothel's primary visual axis was used to display frescoes of only the most normative sexual activities to the structure's clients.

TWO

MATERIAL FINDS

The items recovered from the ground floor of the brothel have remained nearly invisible in scholarship on the structure and on Roman prostitution more broadly.¹ The reasons for this are many: relatively few objects were found, and none is of a precious material; the only records of these items are from 1862 (the year the brothel was excavated), and the most thorough of these was published as a typescript only in 1994; and in general, the study of Pompeian objects in their original archaeological contexts is relatively recent.² Thomas McGinn has brought new attention to the structure's finds – especially evidence related to drinking and eating – showing how these objects can (and should) contribute to discussions about how to define ancient Roman brothels.³ These objects have more stories to tell, however. Bronze coins remind us of the economic transactions between prostitutes (or their managers and/or owners) and clients. A glass vial for perfume or cosmetics, an iron blade with bronze handle, and a bronze shell-shaped basin suggest bodily care, and may even hint at other services (i.e., shaves) offered by prostitutes. Prostitutes or a manager may even have been expected to drink and converse with clients, as glass cups indicate that drinking took place in the structure.

FINDING THE FINDS

The most commonly cited source for the excavation of the brothel is the published description written in 1862 by Giuseppe Fiorelli, then Inspector of

Excavations, for his *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*.⁴ However, Fiorelli's summary should not be taken as a full or accurate representation of the brothel's excavation.⁵ First, Fiorelli himself was rarely on site. His first visit after the ground floor of the brothel began to be excavated on May 27, 1862, was more than a month later, on June 28.⁶ More importantly, he was selective in what information he included in his published description, and occasionally misrepresented the locations where items were found. Fiorelli neglects to mention the iron blade found on the ground floor on May 31, 1862,⁷ and while he mentions all but one item (a bronze shell-shaped basin) recovered from the structure on May 28, 1862, he gives the mistaken impression that the finds came from the upper story rather than the ground floor, where the supervisors record the items were found.⁸ These lapses on the part of Fiorelli may be explained partly by the scale of excavations in 1862, in which 61,493.35 cubic meters of earth were removed from the site, nearly double the average for the years between 1861 and 1872.⁹

Given the problems with Fiorelli's account, we are fortunate that the brothel was excavated shortly after the passage of the *Governo degli scavi: Regolamento temporaneo*, which instituted regular record keeping and accountability, along with archaeological best practices of the time, including stratigraphic excavation techniques.¹⁰ In accordance with this law, the on-site supervisors (*soprastanti*) of Pompeii's excavations had to keep a daily log of their activities (the *Giornale dei soprastanti*) indicating where they had excavated, what architectural features they uncovered, and the number, quality, and description of objects found.¹¹ The law further stipulated that at the beginning of each month, the Inspector of Excavations had to send two copies of the previous month's *Giornale dei soprastanti* to the General Superintendent housed at the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, who in turn would forward one copy to the Ministry of Public Instruction in Turin (the capital of the new state of Italy at that time).¹² In addition, the on-site architect was to submit a daily report summarizing how the excavations were proceeding (the *Rapporto dell'architetto*).¹³ Many of these handwritten documents can still be found in the Archivio Storico associated with the National Archaeological Museum of Naples or in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome (having been sent there at some point after the capital was moved to Rome), and collectively, they form the best documentation for what was found during excavation of the purpose-built brothel.

At the same time, these documents present their own set of challenges. The supervisors were excavating streets and structures that had yet to be named, and thus we are dependent on the thoroughness of their descriptions when we attempt to determine which particular structures were being excavated.¹⁴ Detailed study confirms that the following items were found on the ground floor of the structure, all in room f except for the iron blade, which was found

in room d (the finds from doorway 20 and the upper floor are discussed as part of [Chapter 5](#)):¹⁵

- 4 medium-sized bronze coins
- 1 small bronze coin
- 1 broken bronze shell-shaped basin (“forma di pasticceria”)
- 1 small glass vial (*unguentario*) without handles
- 1 small green glass cup
- 1 fragmentary glass cup
- 1 fragmentary glass bottle
- 1 single-nozzle terracotta lamp
- 1 iron blade (“raschiatoja” [*sic*], for *raschiatoio*) with a bronze handle¹⁶

Unfortunately, none of these objects can be seen today. Tracing the documentation of the brothel’s finds from the on-site daily registry of finds (the *Librette inventariali*) reveals that the coins, bronze basin, glass vial, green glass cup, and lamp were shipped to the National Archaeological Museum of Naples two weeks after being excavated.¹⁷ The registry at the museum (the *Notamenti degli oggetti spediti al Museo Nazionale*) confirms receipt of these objects, though none was given an inventory number.¹⁸ They are most likely still in the museum, unlabeled and stored with other objects of similar material. As such, it would be nearly impossible to find the brothel’s terracotta lamp (for example) among the approximately 5,000 lamps from Pompeii and Herculaneum stored at the museum.¹⁹ The brothel’s bronze-handled iron blade followed about a month later,²⁰ and while it was given an inventory number in the *Notamenti*, this number does not currently exist in the museum’s electronic database.²¹ By the time the object arrived at the museum, moreover, the iron blade may have already disintegrated beyond recognition due to oxidation (as a note regarding the shipment as a whole suggests).²² Pompeii’s *Librette* record that the remaining finds – the fragmentary glass cup and bottle – were kept on-site in the so-called Temple of Mercury (VII.9.2; now often called the Temple to the Genius of Augustus).²³ These were probably transferred to the antiquarium on site at a subsequent date, and were probably destroyed (along with many other objects in the antiquarium) during Allied bombing of Pompeii during World War II.²⁴

In sum, since we are not able to reexamine the objects from the ground floor, we must rely on the archival documents described above for information about the brothel’s finds.²⁵

ACTIVITIES

Caution must still be exercised in interpreting the items. Penelope Allison and Joanne Berry (among others) have shown that archaeological finds should not

be taken as a “time capsule” of a day in the life of Pompeii, but rather that the number, kind, and location of items found during excavation is a result of multiple factors before, during, and after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE.²⁶ Some buildings were under construction or being renovated at the time of the eruption, presumably due to a series of earthquakes that preceded the eruption. In these cases, objects may have been stored in different locations than usual while work proceeded.²⁷ This particular factor may not be relevant for the brothel, since the structure shows no architectural evidence of being under repair.

Another factor to consider is that individuals may have taken their valuables with them or put items in places other than their usual locations during early phases of the eruption, and in some cases, the force of the eruption itself and the resulting destruction may have shifted items between floors or between rooms of buildings.²⁸ While the integrity of the ground floor’s standing walls suggests that the eruption itself did not affect which rooms items were found in, pre-eruption disturbance by those fleeing is a possibility, as is post-eruption looting (which is known to have occurred at Pompeii in both antiquity and modern times).²⁹ Indeed, Fiorelli hypothesized that the small number of finds recovered from the upper floor of the structure was due to it being scavenged after the eruption.³⁰ Finally, the nature of the volcanic deposits at Pompeii means that few organic remains have been preserved, especially in contrast to neighboring Herculaneum, where the different composition of the volcanic deposit led to better preservation of such material.³¹

In other words, we should be mindful of the possibility that the brothel’s finds were disrupted in one or more of these ways. This especially affects our potential to draw inferences based on the rooms in which items were found, since this may reflect pre-eruption haste rather than daily patterns of storage. Even if the objects in the brothel were *not* disturbed, Ria Berg reminds us that there was likely a difference between where items were stored, on the one hand, and where they were used, on the other.³² In addition, the list of finds above should not necessarily be taken as a full reflection of the objects that might have been used in the structure in antiquity, especially since (as mentioned above) organic materials like cloth and wood rarely survive at Pompeii. Nevertheless, the items that *do* remain give tantalizing hints into what may have been an even richer (if unrecoverable) world.

Bodily Care

Several items found in the structure suggest that the brothel’s prostitutes – and maybe even their clients – took part in bodily care and beautification while in the brothel.³³ The bronze shell-shaped basin could hold water for bathing or shaving, and the iron blade with bronze handle may have been used for

shaving facial hair or for other bodily care practices. The brothel's glass vial likely contained cosmetics or perfume, and may have even been a gift from a client to a prostitute.

Bronze bowls of the kind found in the brothel were commonly referred to as “forme di pasticceria” by early excavators, who assumed they were molds for cooking or baking. This is in fact the name given to the brothel's shell-shaped bowl in the archival documentation.³⁴ As early as the turn of the twentieth century, however, doubts were raised as to why pastry or food molds would be crafted with handles (as these items often are), a foot, and an uneven lip.³⁵ Other scholars have noted that some examples are quite ornate – even with a small figured head attached to the rim – making them ill-suited for use in cooking or baking.³⁶

In her analysis of bronze vessels from Pompeii, Suzanne Tassinari observes that shell-shaped vessels were sometimes found with other ablution vessels; she thus suggests they were used for pouring water.³⁷ Teresa Giove interprets shell-shaped metal vessels from the Vicolo di Tesmo likewise.³⁸ Allison's examination of household assemblages from Pompeii, in its turn, finds that bronze “forme di pasticceria” were much more often recovered with personal toilette items (such as tweezers, strigils, and probes) than with food preparation or cooking items.³⁹ Vessels of this type are associated with personal toilette items on funerary reliefs, too.⁴⁰ In other words, the most likely use of the brothel's bronze shell-shaped basin was for holding water for bathing or other bodily care practices.⁴¹

Individuals may have used the basin by itself or in concert with the bronze-handled iron *raschiatoio* found in the structure. Because the *raschiatoio* cannot be reexamined, we may not be able to definitively determine its function. The term *raschiatoio* suggests a razor or “scraper” (though not a strigil, which they called as such), and at 12.1 centimeters, it roughly corresponds in size with other razors that have been found.⁴² Depending on its shape, however, it could have been a small toilet knife for clipping nails.⁴³ Razors and toilet knives were common enough items, and in fact a set was found together in a cupboard in the House of Eutychus (VI.II.8).⁴⁴

If the brothel's *raschiatoio* was a razor, it was most likely used to remove the facial hair of male prostitutes or clients, since depilation of body hair was carried out by the action of rough rocks or by tweezers.⁴⁵ The bronze basin might have been used in association with shaving, since water was needed to lubricate the beard.⁴⁶

Small glass vials like the one found in the brothel were a much more common toiletry item.⁴⁷ The excavators identified this vial as an *unguentario* (perfume flask), though we do not know what it contained. A recent study of the contents of Pompeian vials found that most of the testable samples contained inexpensive ingredients for makeup (such as gypsum and carbon),

but unfortunately more than 90 (!) percent of the vials did not have material left to be tested.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, all likely contents for the brothel's vial – perfume, cosmetics, medicine, or bathing oil – belong to the world of bodily care.⁴⁹ If the vial had cosmetics, perhaps a prostitute relied on these to make herself or himself more attractive to customers.⁵⁰ Another possibility is that the brothel's glass vial was a gift of perfume from a client to a prostitute (a scenario further explored in [Part II](#)); indeed, one of the brothel's graffiti mentions a perfumer as a client (*CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215; see further p. 109), and perfume is a common gift to prostitutes in literature.⁵¹

Drinking

Among the material finds from the ground floor are a small green glass cup, a fragmentary glass cup, and a fragmentary glass bottle.⁵² Based partially on this drinking ware, McGinn encourages us to take seriously the possibility that the brothel sold drink and food in addition to sex.⁵³ Drinking in the brothel should not surprise us, since Roman culture abounds with suggestive evidence of the connection between sex and drinking. Roman texts (both literary and legal) routinely conflate the sale of sex, lodging, and food and drink,⁵⁴ and prostitutes and clients drinking together was such a common trope in literature that it is remarkable when a client chose *not* to drink with his favorite courtesan.⁵⁵ At Pompeii itself, erotic behavior and drinking were often represented together in frescoes, as in the banqueting scenes from the House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6–7),⁵⁶ and some Pompeian bars and taverns (that is, establishments with a built-in masonry counter) have erotic décor and suites of rooms at the back that may have been used for prostitution.⁵⁷ While we should always be wary of taking graffiti at face value, an evocative inscribed “receipt” from Pompeii (*CIL* 4.5380) lists various items purchased, including food, drink, and a woman.⁵⁸ It would not have been strange to a Pompeian, then, to find alcohol and sex being offered – and consumed – together.

The discovery of drinking ware in the brothel has economic implications as well. Glass drinkware was a step up from cheaper and more durable terracotta (or even wood) versions; in fact, the drinkware across the street from the brothel in the large “hotel” (VII.11.11, 14) was primarily terracotta.⁵⁹ One must wonder from where and how often wine was bought, how it was transported to the brothel, and whether it was offered to clients as part of or as an add-on to the purchase of sex.⁶⁰ And who, if anyone, kept the clients company as they drank? If prostitutes (rather than, say, the manager) were expected to drink with their clients, the brothel must not have aimed at rapid turnover (so to speak), since drinking would have represented time that the prostitutes could not spend having sex with other clients.

FURNISHINGS

The objects found in the structure also raise questions about where these items were stored and used. Excavators found no evidence for storage features like cupboards, chests, or shelves that can be identified archaeologically from markings in supporting walls or from metal or bone fittings used to hold the storage units together.⁶¹ With this in mind, where, for example, were fragile items like the structure's glass drinking ware stored? They might have been trampled underfoot if set on the ground, and the masonry platforms seem equally dangerous (and would have offered uneven surfaces when covered by mattresses). The flat, tall (approximately 185 centimeters, or more than 6 feet, from the ground) sill of the northern window in room d seems to be the safest surface for storing items, though it should be noted that none of the other rooms has windows with flat sills.

In terms of where the drinkware was located during *use*, we ought to consider the possibility of tables or stands, either removed from the structure before the eruption or not preserved. Small wooden tables have been found at neighboring Herculaneum from a variety of different contexts, including as part of groupings with wooden beds/couches in the House of the Carbonized Furniture (V.5) and in the so-called College of the Augustales (VI.21–24).⁶² Those tables both stand 64 centimeters tall, while other tables from Herculaneum are a bit shorter, with an average height of 58–59 centimeters for the best preserved examples.⁶³ If the brothel did have one or more wooden tables like these, they would be roughly level with the tops of the masonry platforms, whose heights vary from 60 to 65 centimeters from the ground.⁶⁴ Items placed on such tables would be safe from being stepped on, while being close at hand for anyone standing in the room or reclining on one of the platforms. As Stephan Mols reminds us, the light weight of wooden tables also means that they could be moved around a space as needed.⁶⁵

In fact, Mols argues that most of the wooden tables from Herculaneum were meant to be used as dining tables, since their decoration has associations with drinking and eating.⁶⁶ Pompeian wall frescoes, like the banqueting scenes from the House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6–7) mentioned above, show tables very similar to the ones found at Herculaneum being used to hold drinkware (although the relationship of these frescoes to real practices is complex, as Katherine Dunbabin reminds us).⁶⁷ Wooden tables thus seem the most likely answer to where the brothel's drinkware was placed during use.

The locations where the other items were used and stored are less clear. Would the coins have originally (or ideally) been stored in a lockbox, and if so, where might it have been kept, and who would have been given the key? Would the items related to bodily care – the bronze shell-shaped basin, the

raschiatoio, and the glass vial – be kept out of sight until needed, perhaps in a wooden box (as Ria Berg argues is likely for female toilette items)?⁶⁸ Did the terracotta lamp travel between rooms, finding space, as needed, on the floor, a table, or even on the top of the half-wall shielding the latrine?

There may also have been other organic materials that were not preserved. We might think especially of fabric items like mattresses, linens, and curtains, and in fact it is a common assumption among scholars that the brothel's platforms would have been covered by mattresses.⁶⁹ This would be in line with the treatment of other kinds of dining and sleeping furniture: masonry platforms that make up permanent triclinium-style dining facilities are assumed to have been covered with mattresses, as are wooden couches and beds.⁷⁰ In one case, the plaster cast made of the void left by a wooden couch/bed from the House of Ceres (I.9.13) has an irregular surface that has been interpreted as the impression of its mattress.⁷¹

RESIDENTIAL BROTHEL?

Finally, the material assemblage may be able to shed some light on the debate over where the prostitutes who worked in the purpose-built brothel lived. Three major possibilities have been proposed: on the ground floor, on the upper floor, or elsewhere in Pompeii (or some combination of all three).⁷² Comparison of the brothel's material finds with those of living spaces in Pompeii and Herculaneum may help. While the number of items found in the brothel is quite small, especially for anything approximating an average Pompeian house,⁷³ the assemblage suggestively overlaps in both number and type with the objects found in the upper rooms of Herculaneum's House of the Wooden Partition (III.11–12). These rooms were accessed from their own stairway leading up from the exterior and thus most likely would have been independent living spaces. As Mols notes, one of these upper-floor rooms contained a bed, two terracotta lamps, and a glass bottle, while another had a bed, terracotta mug, glass vial, bronze coin, and a small marble table.⁷⁴ In addition, Mols reminds us that furnishings, especially in small rooms, could be used in multiple ways, perhaps depending on the time of day.⁷⁵ He argues, for example, that the couches designed for dining in the small apartments of Herculaneum's House of Opus Craticum (III.13–15) were also used for sleeping overnight.⁷⁶

Furthermore, certain quotidian needs are represented in the brothel's material finds. Prostitutes would have been able to sleep, drink, and wash without leaving the structure. While cooking and dining ware are absent in the brothel, many of the common types of housing (like the lofts above shops) in Pompeii, Rome, and Ostia lack cooking facilities.⁷⁷ Presumably in the brothel, as in these other places, one could have purchased food from area shops.⁷⁸ While

none of this *proves* that the prostitutes lived on the ground floor, it suggests that some of them *could* have.

In sum, the brothel's finds suggest a livelier environment than previously imagined,⁷⁹ with the possibility of small tables keeping items safe and close at hand, and individuals drinking and performing bodily care for themselves or others. This multiplicity of activities and ways to interact with others can also be seen in the graffiti written on the walls by prostitutes and clients, to which we turn in the [following chapter](#).

THREE

GRAFFITI

The nearly 150 texts and images of the purpose-built brothel – including sexual boasts, death notices, snippets of poetry, names, greetings, and drawings of ships, birds, and phalluses – comprise one of the largest clusters of graffiti anywhere in Pompeii (see Fig. 19).¹ While early scholars were quick to characterize (and thus dismiss) these graffiti as obscene, only one-third of the structure's graffiti contain explicit sexual content.² Names, in fact, form the single largest category of graffiti in the structure – mirroring Pompeian graffiti more broadly³ – and have been amply studied by modern scholars seeking to understand how prostitution was organized in the brothel and at Pompeii more generally. The important work of James L. Franklin, Jr., Antonio Varone, Thomas McGinn, and Pietro Giovanni Guzzo and Vincenzo Scarano Ussani has tackled (though not resolved) aspects of the status and origins of those involved in Pompeian prostitution, as well as showing the possible connections that those in the brothel – both prostitutes and clients – had in the wider community.⁴

Among the most provocative of these findings are that some of the brothel's clients and prostitutes were free (rather than slaves) – that is, their names are *gentilicia* or clan names, which were not given to slaves – and that one out of every five female names in the brothel is of a free woman.⁵ The prostitutes and clientele of the brothel are thus much more diverse in status than previously realized. As Varone notes, servile prostitutes whose earnings went directly to their owner or manager would have worked alongside prostitutes who had



19. West wall of room f. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

more freedom (or at least were less formally tied to a manager).⁶ Determining the ethnic origin of those in the brothel is much more difficult. It is tempting to read into the 8 percent of the brothel's graffiti that are written in the Greek language or script,⁷ or the fact that nearly one-third of the names written in the brothel are of Greek origin,⁸ and posit that these reflect non-Pompeians or a large Greek population at the brothel.⁹ Heikki Solin, however, in no uncertain terms argues that neither Greek names nor the Greek script can identify ethnic Greeks at Pompeii.¹⁰ There is nevertheless clear evidence from other graffiti that the brothel attracted individuals from surrounding towns in addition to Pompeii.¹¹

Another important finding is that the brothel's prostitutes may have worked, or drummed up business, elsewhere at Pompeii.¹² Perhaps the most evocative overlap of names inside and outside the brothel regards Myrtale, who is said to provide fellatio in one of the brothel's graffiti (CIL 4.2268; 2271 also includes her name). This name reappears in a fresco from the Tavern of Salvius (VI.14.36) depicting a male and female figure facing one another, almost kissing, with the text *nolo | cum Myrtale*, "I don't want to with Myrtale" (CIL 4.3494a), above them.¹³ We may never know if it refers to the same Myrtale as in the brothel, but the coincidence certainly should make us aware

of the potential geographical and social reach that those who patronized and worked in the brothel may have had.

This corpus repays attention to its physical, rhetorical, and communicative features, as well.¹⁴ The inscribed images, along with other features such as fingerprints pressed into the wet plaster, suggest that a multisensory experience was available even to those with limited or no literacy, while the locations of the graffiti conjure a world of individuals clambering onto the brothel's masonry platforms, with some rooms overwhelming their users with a cacophony of texts and images and other rooms remaining nearly mute. The wealth of names provides not only a prosopography of prostitutes and clients, but also a window into how these individuals crafted their identities for all to see. Finally, the diversity of texts and images – evoking a world not just of sex for sale but of commemoration, seafaring, and local town rivalries – suggests that the brothel functioned as a sounding board for at least a segment of the community.

POMPEIAN WALL-WRITING CULTURE

Before we turn to the texts and images on the brothel's walls, a few introductory remarks about Pompeian graffiti are in order. Scholars conventionally use the term “graffiti” to refer to texts and images scratched into Pompeian walls, since the term *graffiti* originally meant “little scratches” in Italian.¹⁵ The Romans, however, did not have a separate word to distinguish writing on walls from other types of writing.¹⁶ Moreover, scholars continue to illuminate the extent to which writing on walls at Pompeii was practiced by all strata of society, for all kinds of reasons, and in all types of places. Children, slaves, construction workers, household staff, women, and homeowners have all been shown as active participants in writing on walls.¹⁷ This diverse array of individuals drew ships, phalluses, faces, gladiators, and animals, and wrote texts ranging from self-referential witticisms to names, inventories, practice alphabets, greetings, slander, poems, games, and quotations from literature.¹⁸ It seems to have been commonplace and acceptable to write on nearly any type of wall, from the inside of houses to shops to civic structures.¹⁹ Rebecca Benefiel perhaps best illuminates this culture of wall writing through her discussion of graffiti within houses, arguing in one case that the homeowner has carefully inscribed a graffito into his own wall to welcome guests.²⁰

While the literacy rate of the Roman Empire as a whole is hotly contested – William Harris argues for a rate as low as 15 percent – the robust epigraphic culture at Pompeii has generally been taken to indicate that Pompeians had comparatively high rates of literacy.²¹ We should keep in mind that this literacy may have been spread out unevenly, however: levels of literacy between, and even within, various categories of individuals at Pompeii may

have varied significantly. For example, although there is evidence of literate women at all social strata,²² Roman boys were much more likely to have had formal schooling than girls, and thus generally, male literacy was in all likelihood higher than female literacy.²³ Likewise, some slaves were educated to perform specific duties for their masters (who themselves might not be literate), but many slaves may have remained illiterate.²⁴

Perhaps more importantly for understanding the brothel's graffiti, scholars acknowledge that individuals could fall along a spectrum of literacy, from replicating letters without understanding them, to being able to read a little but not write, to being able to write a few words (such as one's name), all the way to being able to compose and understand syntactically complex sentences.²⁵ Franklin, for example, suggests that the large names in Pompeii's electoral posters could have been "worried out even by the semi-literate" and that the abbreviations within posters "must have been intelligible to the voters if only by virtue of their constant repetition."²⁶ Ann Ellis Hanson and Benefiel have likewise highlighted the ability of those with limited literacy to copy (if poorly) short examples of texts written by others.²⁷ The ability to draw images or marks on a wall likewise broadens the number and types of individuals (such as children and the illiterate) who were involved in graffiti production. From the outset, then, we ought to be open to the possibility of prostitutes and clients, men and women, and slaves and elites as potential writers and viewers of the brothel's graffiti, while being sensitive to the ways in which an individual's level of literacy might have affected their participation.²⁸ To capture this range of literacies, as well as aspects of Pompeian vernacular and the influence of oral pronunciation on spelling, I present the graffiti below (and in all parts of the book) with minimal editorial interventions. This carries over into my translations, where I aim to preserve non-standard forms and errors.²⁹

A MULTISENSORY EXPERIENCE

The brothel offered numerous ways – including touch, sight, and sound – for individuals of all levels of literacy to engage with the structure's epigraphic environment.³⁰ To start, individuals used the walls of the structure not only for writing texts but also for drawing images. A ship was drawn with numerous heavy linear strokes on the west wall of room f (Fig. 20), while small lines made with a sharp tool might indicate water or schools of fish below.³¹ Three human profiles were drawn amid the tangle of textual graffiti; of the two that are still visible, one may have depicted a gladiator (Fig. 21), while the other incorporated parts of nearby textual graffiti for the back of the head (Fig. 22).³² On the north wall of room e, someone used careful, precise lines to delineate a bird clutching onto a branch with berries (Fig. 23),³³ while the doorjamb of this room contains a row of short, vertical marks, from the center of which a



20. Graffito of a ship, west wall of room f. The *fitue* of CIL 4.2200 Add. p. 215 (*Feliclām ego hic fitue*, “I fucked Felicla [= Felicula] here”) can be seen above the ship. Photograph by Anna Serotta, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

set of closely spaced thin vertical lines descends (Fig. 24). These lines, in turn, are drawn over by a heavy wavy line. What this is meant to depict is unknown, but perhaps it was architectural in nature.³⁴ Individuals also drew four phalluses, one of which ejaculates (see Fig. 62).³⁵ The visual vocabulary of these figural graffiti speaks of seafaring, animals (maybe even a pet?), people (including a possible gladiator), and sex. All of these are common motifs in Pompeian figural graffiti,³⁶ and thus the interests of those in the brothel mirror those of the wider community.

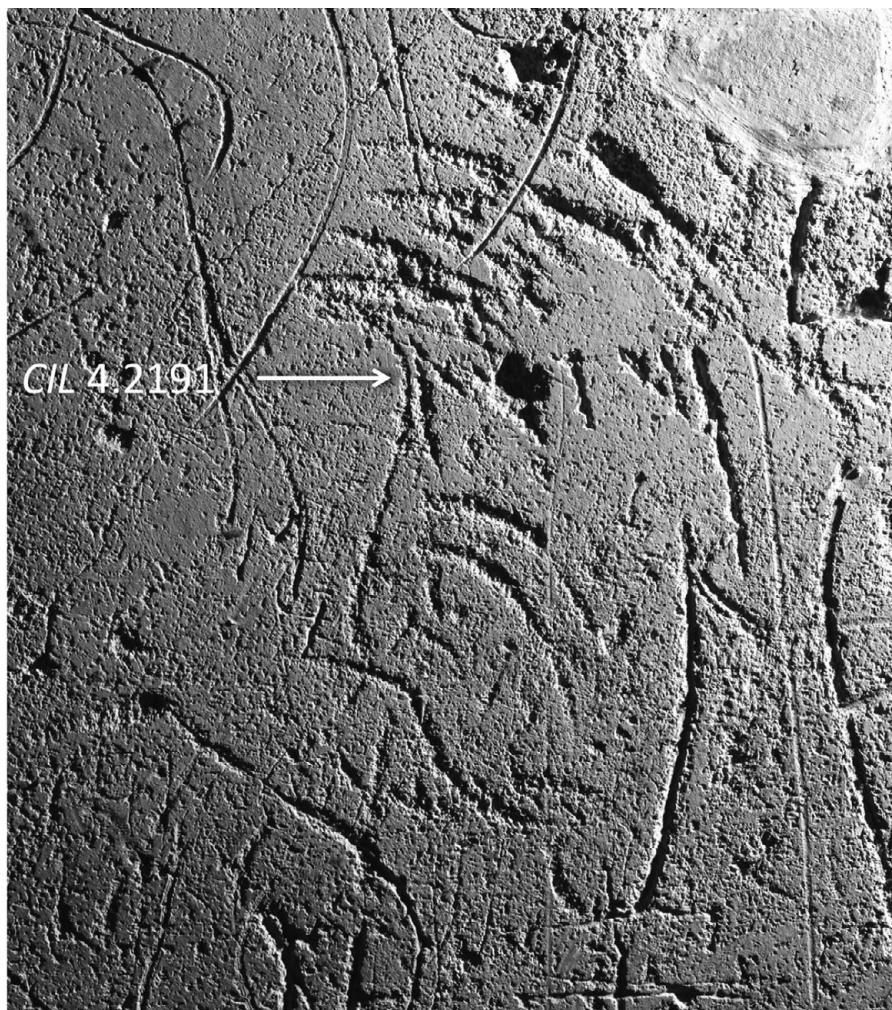
Scratching graffiti – whether figural or textual – into a wall also brought an individual into close contact with the wall itself. An individual could leave deep or shallow marks, skinny or wide; one could write or draw over existing graffiti, or even just feel the marks left by others on the walls.³⁷ Moreover, a number of additional marks suggest an abiding interest in the materiality of the wall. On the west wall of room f, coins were pressed into the wet plaster creating multiple circular impressions, at least one of which was decipherable shortly after excavation (this is, in fact, what dates the brothel’s remodeling to 72 CE).³⁸ The marks left by fabric pressed into the wet plaster can also be seen



21. Graffito of a human profile near the doorway to room f, west wall of room f of the purpose-built brothel. The letters *MPEI* of *Pompeianis* (from *CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465: *Puteolanis feliciter | omnibus Nucherinis | felicia et uncu · Pompeianis | Petecusanis*, “Good luck to the Puteolans! To all the Nucherians [= Nuceria], luck! [But] an anchor for the Pompeians [and] the Petecusans [= Pithecusans]”) seem to have been written over the figure’s headgear (helmet?); the rest of the profile, facing left, is in the space below. *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215 (*Salvi filia*, “daughter of Salvius”) can be seen at the bottom of the image, and at the left is the last word of *CIL* 4.2201 (*Marcus · Scepsini ubique sal(utem)*, “Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Scepsis everywhere”). Photograph by Anna Serotta, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

not far below the drawing of the ship, and a set of parallel bands with soft, rounded edges on the same wall may have been made by someone running their fingers horizontally over the wall when the plaster was still wet.³⁹ This same wall also contains a series of marks resembling () () () X X, some of which – the roughly circular shapes – reappear on the east doorjamb of room e (see bottom right corner of Fig. 32). The north wall of room e also contains a rough line of circular impressions that may be fingerprints made in the wet plaster (Fig. 25).⁴⁰

The visual environment created by these graffiti, as one can see in Figure 19, could be complex and crowded. In addition to the texts, images, and marks already mentioned, numerous solitary lines and letters added to the visual chaos.⁴¹ Moreover, the visual experience of the graffiti would change as the day progressed and natural light from the south- and east-facing windows moved over the walls, bringing some graffiti into relief while others faded from view. The use of lamps – as mentioned in the previous chapter, a single-nozzle terracotta lamp was found in the structure – would have added a further visual dynamic, creating halos of light and dark, and highlighting some graffiti while



22. Graffito (CIL 4.2191: *fuitui*, “I fucked”) in the forehead of a human profile facing left, west wall of room f. The back of the figure’s head is formed by the graffito’s “i,” while the back of the figure’s neck is formed by the first “f” of CIL 4.2199 (*Felida ego f*, “I f-ed [= fucked] Felida [=Felicula]”). Photograph by Anna Serotta, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

plunging others into darkness. The flickering could at times catch on the sharp edges of the graffiti and make them more readable or, as Benefiel has recently argued, give a sense of motion to the otherwise static incisions.⁴² When this flickering light fell upon the figural graffiti, phalluses could seem to grow and ejaculate (or on the contrary, to shrink), faces to express emotions, ships to sail, birds to flutter. The brothel’s graffiti thus offered a vibrant, ever-changing visual experience.



23. Graffito of a bird clutching onto a branch, north wall of room e. Photograph by Anna Serotta, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

In addition, one could participate in this discourse by reading aloud graffiti already on the wall, or hearing another person's recitation (as we think that reading was often conducted aloud in antiquity).⁴³ Hearing others read aloud textual graffiti made these texts accessible to all, and after listening, subliterate individuals could then coopt these recitations and rearticulate the statements as their own, for their own purposes. In sum, the physical and sensory qualities of the brothel's graffiti made it possible even for non-literate individuals to participate in the conversations reflected in, and created by, these graffiti.

DISTRIBUTION AND THE USE OF SPACE

As mentioned in passing above, some of the rooms of the brothel have dense concentrations of graffiti, while others were left nearly bare (see [Figs. 26 and 27](#)), raising questions about what can account for such an uneven distribution. Room f contains more than half of the structure's graffiti, with seventy-three textual graffiti in addition to drawings of two phalluses, two human profiles, and a ship. When combined with the twenty-three textual graffiti in room d, these rooms closest to doorway 18 together account for over two-thirds of the brothel's graffiti.⁴⁴ For comparison, room b has only two graffiti.

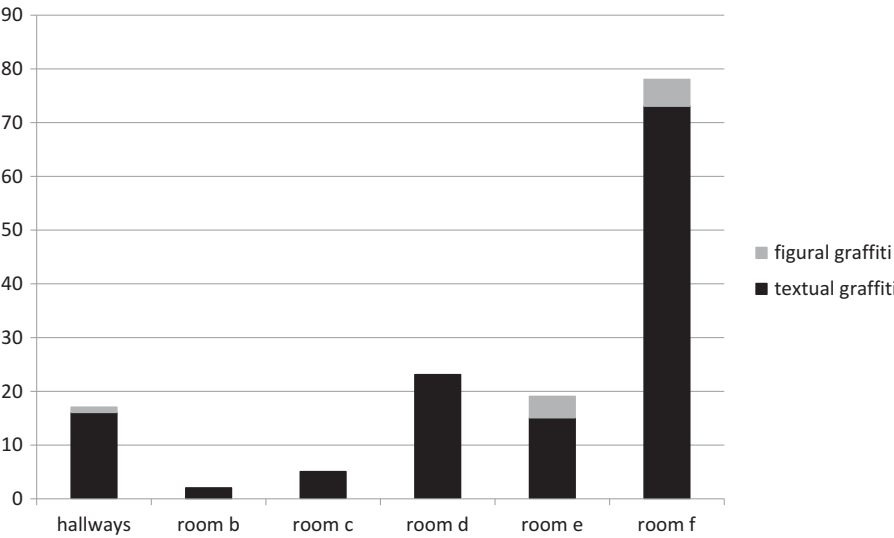


24. Figural graffiti, possibly architectural in nature, east doorjamb of room e. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

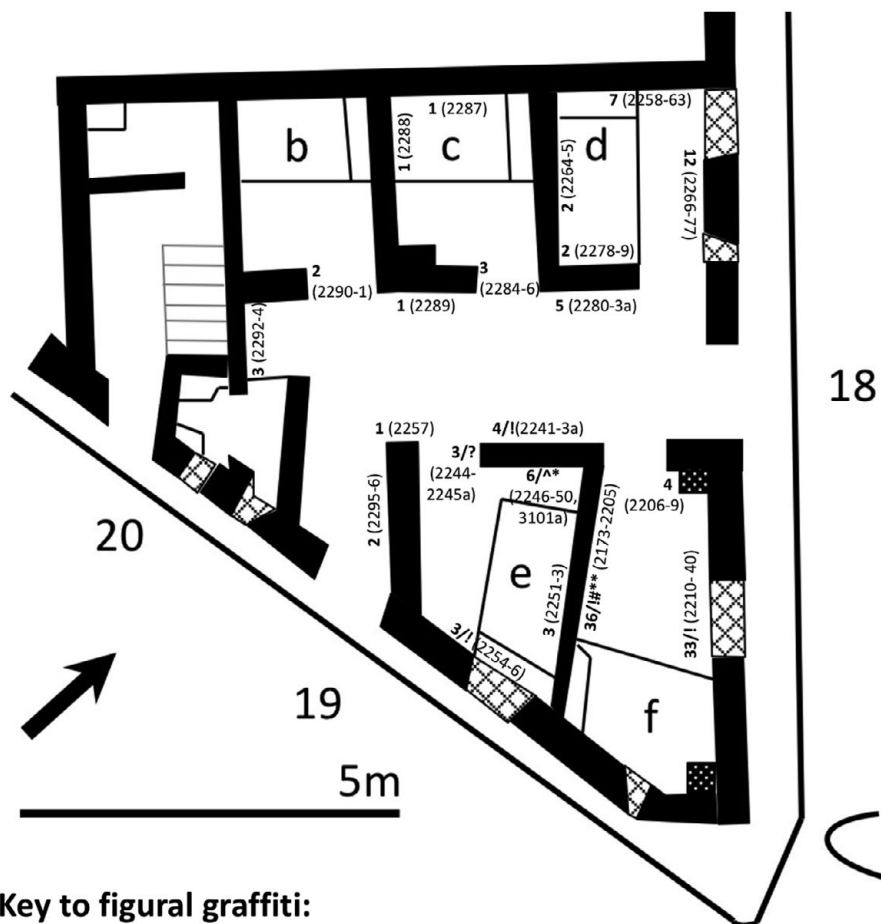
What might account for the vast discrepancies between the eastern rooms (d and f) and the western rooms (b, c, and e)? One of the two scenarios Varone suggests is that the prostitutes in the western rooms did not allow individuals to write graffiti.⁴⁵ However, Varone does not put forward a motive for preventing graffiti, nor is one readily apparent, especially given the pervasive writing culture at Pompeii. Nor is it clear why graffiti would be prevented in the western rooms and not the eastern rooms. Varone's alternate explanation – and the one he admits is more likely – is that the eastern two rooms were used much more often than the other rooms.⁴⁶ As Mary Beard suggests, this may be because they are the first rooms that



25. Circular impressions (possibly fingerprints), north wall of room e. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



26. Distribution of graffiti by space.



Key to figural graffiti:

! = phallus

* = portrait

= ship

^ = bird

? = architectural(?)

27. Distribution of graffiti by wall; the numbers in bold indicate total number of textual graffiti on each wall, with the numbers in parentheses indicating *CIL* numbers. Underlying plan after Paone and Morichi in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2.

clients would reach on entering the structure from doorway 18,⁴⁷ though perhaps it is not a coincidence that room f is the largest room, and that both rooms d and f have two windows each that would provide fresh air and natural light, making the environment more pleasant and making incised texts and images easier to see.⁴⁸

If the eastern two rooms attracted more graffiti because they were used more often, it would seem that the brothel was not fully staffed or not fully booked, since we would imagine a more even distribution of graffiti if all rooms were equally put to use.⁴⁹ The western rooms might have been left

vacant much of the time, perhaps making them available to walk-in couples wanting to rent a room for a tryst (as Varone suggests) or to the brothel's prostitutes for resting when not with a client.⁵⁰ Perhaps the manager kept tabs on both prostitutes and clients from one of these less heavily inscribed rooms.

Or, to posit a different explanation for the graffiti's distribution, perhaps the eastern rooms were waiting rooms where the brothel's manager or one of the prostitutes would take a client's money and socialize with him – including reading and writing graffiti – before and after sex. In that case, the sexual activity itself may have taken place in one of the western rooms. At the very least, even if a definitive solution eludes us, individuals must have had the time, desire, and ability to write graffiti in the rooms closest to doorway 18, and one or more of these factors may have been lacking in the other set of rooms.

The distribution of graffiti on certain walls, to the exclusion or near exclusion of other walls, also bears notice (see Fig. 27). Many more graffiti were written in areas that permitted standing up and moving around than in areas requiring one to be (relatively) static (that is, sitting or reclining on a masonry platform). In room f, for example, there is a marked absence of graffiti behind the platform on the south wall of the room, despite the abundance of texts on the east and west walls.⁵¹ Likewise, in room d, only four of the twenty-three graffiti were written in the area of the masonry platform (two above the foot of the platform and another two directly behind the platform). Doorjamb, on the other hand, were favored spots: the only two graffiti in room b were written on the western doorjamb; three of the five graffiti in room c are on its western doorjamb; and three graffiti and the architectural (?) drawing can be seen on the eastern doorjamb of room e (Fig. 24 and Fig. 32).⁵²

Graffiti in these areas of movement – whether on doorjamb, that one would pass entering and exiting a room or in the open areas of the rooms themselves – would have offered an interactive visual and kinesthetic experience.⁵³ As an individual moved through these spaces, encountering these texts and images from numerous locations in space, the graffiti might become more visible as raking light from certain angles would catch on the edges of the scratches and incisions. The connections between an individual graffiti and those around it would also move with the viewer, allowing graffiti to take part in multiple, shifting conversations depending on one's perspective.

The height of the graffiti can likewise provide information about how bodies were interacting with the built environment of the brothel. For the most part, the graffiti were written at roughly eye level from a standing position, though in some cases, individuals contorted and stretched their bodies to write on the walls. For example, several are located high enough where one would need to stand on the masonry platform to write them. This is the case, for example, with



28. Locations of graffiti, north wall of room e: *CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465 (*hic ego cum veni futui | deinde redei domi*, “When I came here, I fucked, and then I returned home”) and *CIL* 4.2247 Add. p. 215 (*Bellicus hic · futuit quendam | [l]uculentissim[e] fut[ui]*, “Bellicus fucks here a certain one. [I] fuck[ed] most [spl]endid[ly]”). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

two graffiti on the north wall of room e (see Fig. 28): *hic ego cum veni futui | deinde redei domi*, “When I came here, I fucked, and then I returned home” (*CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465), and *Bellicus hic · futuit quendam | [l]uculentissim[e] fut[ui]*, “Bellicus fucks here a certain one. [I] fuck[ed] most [spl]endid[ly]” (*CIL* 4.2247



29. Locations of graffiti, west wall of room f: *CIL* 4.2174 (*Ias cum Ma|gno ubique*, “Ias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere”), *CIL* 4.2175 (*hic ego puellas multas | futui*, “Here I fucked many girls”), *CIL* 4.2185 (*S[ol]lemnes | b[e]ne futues*, “S[ol]lemnes [= Sollemnis?], you fuck w[e]ll”), and *CIL* 4.2188 (*Scordopordonicus hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit*, “Scordopordonicus fucks well here who he wished”). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Add. p. 215; note that all graffiti with *futuit* can be translated as either present tense [“fucks”] or past tense [“fucked”]). The former was written nearly 7 feet from the floor, the latter a few inches below.⁵⁴ As the platform in this room does not abut the north wall, the writer would have had to stand at the very foot of



30. Detail of graffito (CIL 4.2175: *hic ego puellas multas | futui*, “Here I fucked many girls”), west wall of room f. Above the letters *TAS* at the end of the first line are the first three tall letters of the beginning of CIL 4.2174 (*Ias cum Ma|gno ubique*, “Ias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere”), and below the same is CIL 4.2176 (*Felix | bene futuis*, “Felix, you fuck well”). Underneath that graffito, in turn, are the first six letters (inscribed very lightly) of CIL 4.2179 (*calos Paris*, “beautiful Paris”). In the bottom half of the photograph are, on the left, CIL 4.2185 (*S[ol]lemnes | b[e]ne futues*, *S[ol]lemnes* [= *Sollemnis?*], you fock w[e]ll”) and below that CIL 4.2188 (*Scordopordonicus hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit*, “Scordopordonicus foks well here who he wished”); on the right is CIL 4.2186 (*S[ol]lemnes | bene futues*, “*Sollemnes* [= *Sollemnis?*], you fock well”). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

the platform and reach across and above to create these graffiti.⁵⁵ Likewise, the height (nearly 6 feet off the ground) of *Ias cum Ma|gno ubique*, “Ias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere” (CIL 4.2174), on the west wall of room f, led Fiorelli to believe that it was written by someone standing on the room’s platform (see Fig. 29).⁵⁶ The awkward split of the name Magnus, moreover, is not because space was lacking after the first two letters – there is ample untouched wall space – but rather because it seems that this was the farthest the writer could reach from the platform, and thus he or she had to continue the name on a second line. *Hic ego puellas multas | futui*, “Here I fucked many girls” (CIL 4.2175), was also written from a standing position at the head of the platform in room f, but in this case was carefully centered above the platform (see Fig. 30).⁵⁷ Thus, at least some individuals seem to have felt free to climb on top of the masonry platforms.



31. Location of graffito (*CIL* 4.2204: *Μόλα · φοουτοῦτρης*, “Mola the fucktress”), west wall of room f. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Other graffiti seem to have been written by someone reclining, sitting, or kneeling on the platform. This was probably the case with *S[ol]lemnes | b[e]ne futues*, “S[ol]lemnes [= Sollemnīs?], you fuck w[e]ll” (*CIL* 4.2185), and beneath it, *Scordopordonicus hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit*, “Scordopordonicus fucks well here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2188), written in room f less than 2 feet above the

platform and starting in the corner (see Fig. 29).⁵⁸ Only a few graffiti were written low to the ground, notably, Μόλα · φοουτούτρις, “Mola the fucktress” (*CIL* 4.2204; note that all graffiti with a name and title could also be translated as “x [is] a y,” or in this case, “Mola [is] a fucktress”), which is less than 3 feet from the ground (Fig. 31).⁵⁹ This suggests a scenario of someone kneeling or sitting on the floor, or perhaps bending down at an awkward angle. In all, these heights indicate that prostitutes and clients were engaging actively with the architecture of the structure.

As David Newsome reminds us, spaces with writing in them “do not simply respond to existing patterns of movement, but generate and sustain new ones.”⁶⁰ In this way, the brothel’s graffiti not only reflect patterns of movement, but inspire (and even constrain) future interactions. The proliferation of texts and images in the rooms closest to doorway 18 may have drawn more individuals to these spaces and encouraged them to linger longer, moving along the walls to see the mass of graffiti written there.

CRAFTING PERSONAS

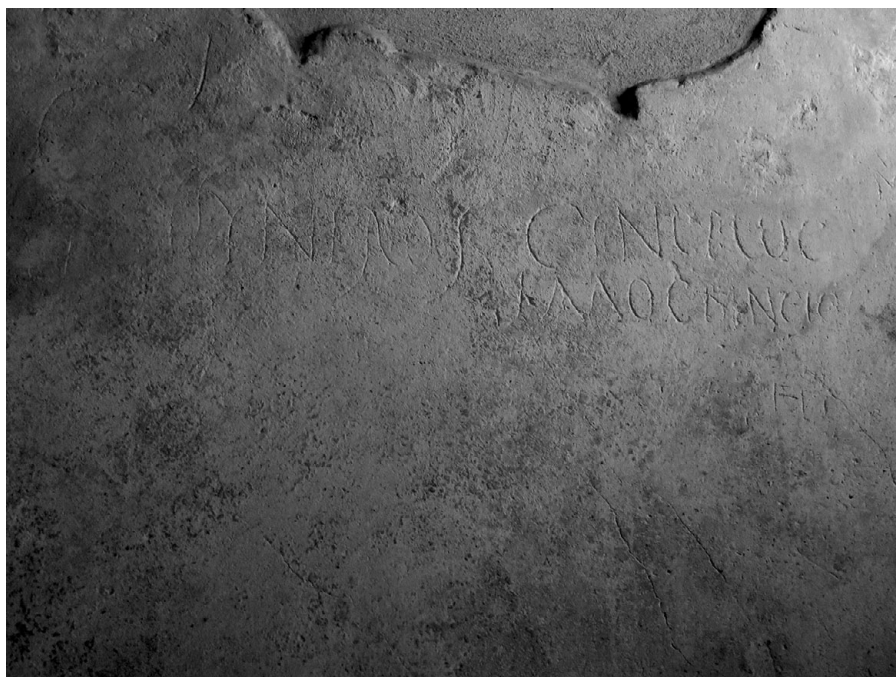
While studying inscriptions and graffiti from a prosopographical point of view has a long history – and has been applied already to the brothel’s graffiti – examining graffiti through the lens of literary theory is a recent trend. As Craig Williams explains this approach, “[By] paying attention to recurring words, images, themes, noting what is largely or entirely absent, asking ourselves what kinds of actions and behaviors are praised, blamed, or made the subject of jokes, and with what words, we can consider what the graffiti suggest about the cultural systems of meaning shared by their readers and writers.”⁶¹ In other words, we should be attuned to “how people writing in this medium represented what they and others did, or were, or wanted.”⁶² As part of this approach, we should acknowledge the polysemous nature of graffiti: not only can they lie, create fictive personas, and play tricks on readers, as Williams and others have begun to show,⁶³ but they could have different meanings to various individuals.

Most apparent in the brothel’s graffiti is the popularity of inscribing names (or personas), as can be discerned first of all by the sheer number of names present.⁶⁴ Varone counts 88 distinct names referred to a total of 141 times in the brothel, and only 18 out of all of the brothel’s graffiti lack names.⁶⁵ Moreover, 27 names appear more than once in the brothel,⁶⁶ and while it is certainly possible that there were, say, three different individuals named Synethus who frequented the establishment, scholars believe that the small space of the brothel makes it probable that graffiti with the same name *do* refer to the same individual.⁶⁷ The name Fructus, for example, has been written three times on the east doorjamb of room e, seemingly by the same individual (*CIL* 4.2244–2245a; see Fig. 32, but note that the name is visible only twice in



32. Detail of graffiti, east doorjamb of room e: *CIL* 4.2244 (*Freutus* [= *Fructus*]) and *CIL* 4.2245 (*Fructus*). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

the photograph). The names Victor (“Mr. Conqueror”) and Victoria (“Ms. Conqueror”) fittingly dominate all others with six appearances each. Statements about Victor could be seen on the north and east walls of room f (*CIL* 4.2209 and 2218 respectively), on the north and east walls of room d (north wall: *CIL* 4.2258 and 2260 Add. p. 216; east wall: 2274 Add. p. 216), and at the



33. Detail of graffiti, east wall of room e: *CIL* 4.2252 (*Syneros*) and *CIL* 4.2253 (Cυνέρως | καλὸς · βινεῖς, “*Syneros*, you fuck good”). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

back of the hallway (*CIL* 4.2294).⁶⁸ The appearances of Victoria, on the other hand, cluster in a group on the east wall of room f, and engage in a lively debate (see pp. 123–124).⁶⁹ It seems likely, then, that Victoria worked out of room f, though Varone’s analysis of the spatial distribution of names shows that, in general, the rooms were probably used by multiple prostitutes and that the same prostitute could work out of different rooms.⁷⁰ In all these cases of multiple appearances, attention is drawn to the person named.

In other cases, a name appears in more than one language, suggesting – if the same person wrote all of the statements – a desire both to communicate to as many potential readers as possible and to show off one’s knowledge of multiple languages. Above the platform in room e, for example, someone wrote the name *Syneros* in large, careful letters (*CIL* 4.2252; see Fig. 33); written next to it, in letters of the same size and carefulness but in Greek, is Cυνέρως | καλὸς · βινεῖς, “*Syneros*, you fuck good” (*CIL* 4.2253; see Fig. 33 and p. 137).⁷¹ A similar situation may have been the case with two attestations of the name Marcus on the west wall of room f. The name appears once in Latin (*CIL* 4.2201), while also appearing close by in the (nearly defunct!) native Oscan language (see the notes of *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215).⁷²

While the “reality” behind Syneros, Marcus, and others may not be recoverable,⁷³ we can still explore how people chose to depict themselves and others. In some cases, a fuller persona is communicated by the addition of adjectives to names. For example, an individual’s sexual acts (or predilections) could be turned into a title and appended to his or her name. A certain Phoebus is specified as a *pedico*, one of two nouns (the other being *pedicator*) meaning “ass-fucker,” in a graffito on the west wall of room f (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465),⁷⁴ while in the hallway Epagathus is called a *fututor*, “fucker” (*CIL* 4.2242; for more on clients’ boasts, see pp. 101–106). The claim (mentioned briefly above) that Mola is a *φουτοῦτρίς*, “fucktress” (*CIL* 4.2204), extends over nearly a meter of wall space on the west side of room f, and Murtis is said to be a *fēlatris*, “suktress,” in a graffito at the back of the hallway (*CIL* 4.2292).⁷⁵ A couple of graffiti refer to physical traits, as in the description of two males, Paris and Castrensis, as *calos*, “beautiful” (*CIL* 4.2179 and 2180; see further pp. 135–136, where I suggest they might be male prostitutes).⁷⁶ The oft-mentioned Victoria is even represented as a *victrix*, “conqueress,” in a greeting addressed to her (*CIL* 4.2212 Add. p. 215).

While the descriptors just mentioned are tied to the actions or appearance of the physical body – fitting, perhaps, for an establishment where bodily interactions (among other types of interactions) were bought and sold – some representations highlight others aspects of identity. One example, from the east wall of room d, seems to be a proclamation of local identity: *Lucrio | amasuc[-] | Sarnesis* “Lucrio . . . from Sarno[?]” (*CIL* 4.2267). In another example, from the west wall of room f, someone wished to specify that the occupation of Phoebus who *optume futuit*, “fucks best,” was making perfume (*unguentarius*; *CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215); this may or may not be the same Phoebus who is said to be a *pedico*, “ass-fucker” (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465), on the same wall, or the Phoebus who is mentioned as a *bonus futor*, “good fukr” (*CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215), on the north wall of room e. A certain Restituta’s character is featured in a graffito on the west wall of room f that refers to her as *bellis moribus*, “with charming ways” (*CIL* 4.2202 Add. p. 465).⁷⁷ This was a compliment that apparently resonated with prostitutes, as it often appears in conjunction with a price.⁷⁸ If the reading of *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215, on the west wall of room f near the doorway, is in fact *Salvi filia*, “daughter of Salvius,”⁷⁹ this would be a unique case in the brothel where familial relations were highlighted at the expense of the name of the woman herself, making readers aware that individuals in the brothel had identities and families outside the brothel.⁸⁰ These additional details about individuals – their origins, occupations, character, possibly their family associations – situated the prostitutes and clients within the wider community.

Furthermore, we may be able to interpret the three profiles drawn on the walls of the brothel as belonging to the phenomenon of inscribing personas. On the west wall of room f near its doorway, someone drew a human profile facing left wearing headgear (Fig. 21).⁸¹ Martin Langner classifies the profile

under gladiatorial imagery, and gladiatorial graffiti were very common indeed at Pompeii.⁸² It may even be that this profile provoked someone to inscribe a graffito about local town rivalries (*CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465; discussed more below) over the headgear of the profile.

Another human profile was drawn on the same wall around the graffito *futui* (*CIL* 4.2191), so that the statement “I fucked” can be read clearly on the figure’s forehead (Fig. 22; see further p. 126). The profile must have been inscribed after the text, since it makes use of the “i” of *futui* for the back of the head; in addition, it reuses the first “f” of *Felicia ego f*, “I f-ed [= fucked] Felicia [= Felicula]” (*CIL* 4.2199), for the same purpose.⁸³ Thus we have an example of figural graffiti clearly engaging with textual graffiti already on the wall, and in a way that seems to personalize the anonymous statement “I fucked.”

A third profile was noted by *CIL* on the north wall of room e, apparently near the graffito (referred to briefly above) stating *Phoebus | bonus futor* “Phoebus the good fuker” (*CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215).⁸⁴ Even if the profile were still visible, its connection to the textual graffito might still be unclear. Perhaps the profile was drawn to further identify Phoebus by means of physical characteristics, though perhaps there was no intended connection.⁸⁵ Regardless, the human profiles as a whole represent another way of participating in the larger trend of proclaiming personas, and a way that even illiterate individuals could partake in (through inscribing profiles) and appreciate (through viewing the drawings).⁸⁶

The role of graffiti in proclamations of identity or persona comes into further relief if we apply Greg Woolf’s view of inscribed Roman objects – namely, that these are “objects in which personhood is inscribed, stored, communicated and shared” – to inscribed walls, as well.⁸⁷ If we broaden Woolf’s claim that objects inscribed with someone’s name indicate that “writing [one’s name, especially] is a powerful means of extending one’s self, of investing it in objects and (through their use) of expanding one’s participation in the world,” we can see how scratching one’s name (or persona) into the wall was a way of extending – both spatially and temporally – one’s presence in the brothel.⁸⁸

In light of this view, the breakdown of the brothel’s graffiti by gender becomes particularly interesting: the epigraphic environment of the brothel was disproportionately gendered male. Varone notes that male names comprise nearly two-thirds of the total occurrences of names,⁸⁹ and while epigraphic promiscuity was not restricted to one gender, as seen above with multiple appearances of the names Victor and Victoria, repeated male names outnumber repeated female names by sixteen to ten.⁹⁰ While some of the male names might belong to male prostitutes (see further Chapter 8), many would belong to clients. Thus, even though clients’ actual presence in the brothel would have been more transitory than that of prostitutes, their epigraphic presence overwhelmed that of the workers.

Finally, a graffito written above the masonry platform in room f is a valuable reminder of the types of play that these graffiti might exhibit: *Scordopordonicus*



34. Detail of graffito (CIL 4.2183 Add. p. 465: *Puteolanis feliciter | omnibus Nucherinis | felicia et uncu · Pompeianis | Petecusanis*, “Good luck to the Puteolans! To all the Nucherians [= Nucerians], luck! [But] an anchor for the Pompeians [and] the Petecusans [= Pithecusans]”), west wall of room f. The end of CIL 4.2201 (*Marcus · Sepsini ubique sal(utem)*, “Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Sepsis everywhere”) can be seen at the bottom of the photograph. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit, “Scordopordonicus fuchs well here who he wished” (CIL 4.2188). While the formula *hic bene fuit* was used often in the brothel, the name Scordopordonicus is unique both at Pompeii and more widely. Crafted from two different Greek stems, the name can be translated roughly as “Mr. Garlique-farticus.”⁹¹ We see in this how certain formulas became so common that the expectations of readers could be played with to humorous effect: perhaps there was a client known for his flatulence problem, or, since the graffito offers no further identifying features about Scordopordonicus, perhaps any client could be framed as a potential garlic-farter. While the name Scordopordonicus calls attention to its stagecraft with its unprecedented combination of root words, other more common names might have been read as stage names in the context of the brothel. It is possible that Victoria was a stage name giving her an aura of “victory” in the brothel; that Fortuna and Fortunata might have been meant to feel “lucky” themselves or bring luck to others; and that Mola was a “grindstone” in bed (see further pp. 118–119).

COMMUNITY MESSAGE BOARD

The brothel’s graffiti were also used to convey news and messages and, in the process, gave rise to certain affective communities. Town rivalries, the death of community members, and greetings were all written on the walls for others to read.

Perhaps best known is the expression of local town rivalries in room f near the doorway.⁹² Written in large, clear letters that could be seen from doorway 18, it

begins *Puteolanis feliciter | omnibus Nucherinis | felicia*, “Good luck to the Puteolans! To all the Nucherians [= Nucerians], luck!” (*CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465). Because the wishes for luck are expressed with different grammatical constructions, Benefiel thinks that we already have two different individuals at work.⁹³ As can be seen in Figure 34, someone else picked up after *felicia* and added *et uncu · Pompeianis*, “[But] an anchor for the Pompeians,” on the same line, and finally, on a fourth line, another individual added in smaller letters *Petecusanis*, “[and] the Petecusans [=Pithecusans].”⁹⁴ These rivalries came to a head during an incident in 59 CE when a riot broke out in Pompeii’s amphitheater between Pompeians and the neighboring Nucerians during what may have been gladiatorial spectacles.⁹⁵ As represented by the early second-century CE historian Tacitus, the thoroughly routed and wounded Nucerians tattled to Rome, and the Senate in response banned (gladiatorial?) spectacles at Pompeii for ten years. Advertisements from the last decade before the eruption of Vesuvius show that at least some kinds of spectacles (beast hunts and athletic competitions, for example) continued to take place, and local rivalries certainly did not cease.⁹⁶ In the case of our graffito, up to four different individuals at four different moments – perhaps one immediately after the other, perhaps separated by days or month or even years – chose this space to express their wishes for good (or bad) luck to their favored (or rival) town. Moreover, parts of the texts were written over the profile of a possible gladiator discussed earlier (Fig. 21), and thus the location of this articulation of rivalries may have been deliberate.

The deaths of at least two individuals were also commemorated inside the structure, and in ways that involved multiple individuals as writers or readers. In one case, from the west wall of room f, the notice is brief and direct: *Ikarus Θ*, “Ikarus, dead” (*CIL* 4.2177).⁹⁷ The theta deserves further attention, as it was written with shallower, wider strokes than the name itself. This suggests that it was added by someone else at a later date, perhaps (one would hope) after Ikarus died, and thus points to a desire to keep the community informed of Ikarus’s status.⁹⁸ Another death notice, from the north wall of room d, portrays a vivid narrative: *Africanus moritur | scribet · puer Rusticus | condisces cui dolet pro Africano*, “Africanus is dying. The boy Rusticus writes. You will learn who mourns for Africanus” (*CIL* 4.2258a). If, as I have done in the translation, we take *condisces* as a second-person verb (“you will learn,” rather than *condiscen[s]*, “schoolmate,” as some scholars think),⁹⁹ the reader is coopted into the grieving process (for more on this graffito, seemingly written by a male prostitute, see pp. 132–133).

In addition, both prostitutes and clients used the brothel’s walls for sending and receiving greetings.¹⁰⁰ *Ias Magno salute*, “Ias [sends] greeting to Magnus” (*CIL* 4.2231 Add. p. 215), shouts across a meter of the east wall of room f with the first “I” a whopping 45 centimeters tall, overshadowing all other graffiti on the wall. Ias was a common name in Latin literature for a female prostitute, and thus we may have a prostitute writing to her client.¹⁰¹ We have already seen this pair, in fact: both are mentioned on the opposite wall in a graffito

written by someone reaching from the platform (*Ias cum Ma|gno ubique*, “Ias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere” [CIL 4.2174]). Only two other greetings include the names of both the sender and recipient. Marcus – briefly mentioned above for his multilingual appearances – left a warm greeting to the woman Scepsis on the west wall of room f: *Marcus · Scepsini ubique sal(utem)*, “Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Scepsis everywhere” (CIL 4.2201). On the north wall of room f, *Sabinus Proclo | salutem*, “Sabinus [sends] greetings to Proclus” (CIL 4.2208), leaves us to speculate about the relationship between the two individuals, since neither male name is mentioned elsewhere in the brothel. Perhaps this was a greeting between two clients, or a prostitute and client, or even two prostitutes.

In another five greetings, only one party is named, expanding the interpretive possibilities.¹⁰² In *calos Castrensis s(alutem)*, “Beautiful Castrensis [sends] gr(eetings)” (CIL 4.2180; west wall of room f), the open-ended greeting invites readers to imagine themselves or others as the recipients. In other cases, we must imagine the sender (who remains anonymous), as in a greeting to one of the female prostitutes (mentioned earlier) on the east wall of room f, *victrix Victoria va(le)*, “Conqueress Victoria, hey!” (CIL 4.2212 Add. p. 215).

Graffiti such as these that include greetings, show multiple hands at work, or convey conversations in progress speak to the time that individuals spent creating, reading, and responding to these messages. This outlay of time and effort has implications – like the distribution of graffiti – for the economics of the brothel. Rather than aiming to get clients in and out as fast as possible, the brothel allowed individuals to linger, peruse previous graffiti and perhaps experience moments of discovery at new additions, and to leave one’s mark.

Moreover, these graffiti were not just static traces of (real or imagined) relationships, but worked to *create* relationships and communities. We might take inspiration from scholarship on ancient written correspondence, in that “letters inscribe within themselves the identity of the author (as she or he wishes to present it) and that of the recipient (again as the author chooses to shape it).”¹⁰³ Graffiti, too, allowed individuals to craft particular personas (as seen in the previous section), and call specific types of readers into being.¹⁰⁴ In the brothel, open-ended greetings may have turned readers and listeners into members of an affective community, and the graffiti about town rivalries may have brought to the fore local affiliations. Perhaps most poignantly, readers and listeners of the death notices immediately became a community of witnesses and mourners.

A final comment on the brothel’s graffiti comes by way of a one-word graffito – a quotation from the beginning of the second book of Vergil’s *Aeneid* – inscribed under the window of the east wall of room f.¹⁰⁵ This particular snippet might be interpreted as an ironic response to the cacophony of voices present in this heavily inscribed room, countering, in turn: *contiguere*, “They [all] fell silent” (CIL 4.2213).

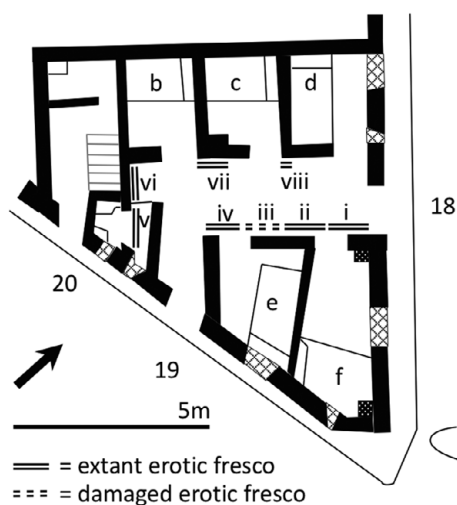
FOUR

FRESCOES

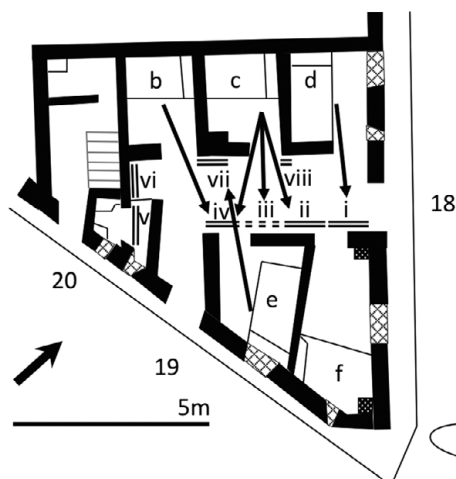
Probably the most famous – and infamous – feature of the purpose-built brothel is the row of erotically themed frescoes that line the structure’s hallway above the level of the door lintels (see [Figs. 15](#) and [35](#)).¹ Five frescoes depict sex between a male and female pair, one shows a female figure standing next to a reclining male figure who points to a small panel within the fresco (with a sex scene, according to an early scholar),² and another represents the deity Priapus with two erect phalluses (see [Plates I, II, and IV–VIII](#)). An eighth fresco, above the doorway to room e, is heavily damaged, but the surviving elements suggest another sex scene ([Plate III](#)).³ These frescoes were the highlight of the ground floor’s decorative scheme. They were prominently displayed along the structure’s main visual axis leading from doorway 18 (as mentioned in [Chapter 1](#)), while doorway 19 and the masonry platforms also offered views, if limited (see [Figs. 16, 18, and 36](#)).⁴ Compared with the erotic frescoes’ figural scenes, the rest of the hallway was simply decorated, with white-ground walls featuring red winged animals – including swans and griffins – surrounded by red, fourth-style tapestry borders.⁵ These other decorative elements have faded somewhat over time, but can more easily be seen in archival photographs (e.g., [Fig. 3](#)), along with the red bands uniting the various parts of the decorative ensemble. The brothel’s rooms continued this color palette at a much reduced scale, with painted red ribbons (according to Giuseppe Fiorelli’s 1862 report) on the white-plastered masonry platforms, and simple white-ground walls.⁶

Early scholarship on the brothel's frescoes was hampered partially by their content – from the moment of excavation they were described as obscene⁷ – but even more so by their perceived lack of quality.⁸ Wolfgang Helbig went so far as to say in 1868 that “an analysis of individual paintings [from the brothel] is unnecessary and inadmissible.”⁹ A surge of scholarship in the mid-twentieth century drew new attention to Greco-Roman erotic art, observing that isolated couples (mostly male–female) in various sexual positions in an indoor locale – features we see in the brothel's imagery – became common in both frescoes and terracotta objects in the Hellenistic period and continued into the Roman period.¹⁰ This visual tradition, moreover, may have been connected to the Hellenistic literary tradition of erotic catalogues, some of which may have been illustrated, and aspects of which were also taken up by Roman authors (the Augustan-age poet Ovid, most famously).¹¹

The past few decades have seen renewed interest in the brothel's frescoes. John Clarke's work on Roman erotic art – including the frescoes of the brothel – has been the most influential, highlighting the importance of physical context and the social status of viewers.¹² I build on Clarke's methodologies in this chapter (though with quite different results), examining the frescoes in relation to the physical environment of the brothel and Roman sexual and status expectations, while paying close attention to visual comparanda from Pompeii and the Bay of Naples. Ultimately, I argue that the absence of certain problematic sexual acts, explicit poses, and markers of status in the brothel's frescoes would have facilitated viewers' experiences of desire. Clients were offered a vision of normative sexual acts between generic individuals whom any client could easily identify with or objectify.



35. Locations of figural frescoes; each fresco is numbered with lowercase Roman numerals for ease of reference. Underlying plan after Paone and Morichi in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2.



36. Sight lines from masonry platforms to figural frescoes. Underlying plan after Paone and Morichi in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2.

CURATING THE BROTHEL'S SEXUAL UNIVERSE

At the culmination of the brothel's main visual axis was a unique composition (fresco v; see [Plate V](#)): a nude (or partially nude – the lower half of the body is poorly preserved) male figure reclines on a bed/couch while a dressed woman stands next to him. Both figures follow the male figure's gesturing right arm to look at the now-faded sex scene within the painting. This fresco serves a programmatic and deictic role, telling viewers to look at the erotic frescoes around them.¹³ When they did so, viewers would have encountered a remarkably narrow and normative set of sexual acts: the brothel's frescoes show only male–female pairs, and these pairs engage only in genital-to-genital sex.¹⁴ However, other types of sexual activities – homoerotic and oral sex – are described in the brothels' own graffiti and represented in other examples of Pompeian art.¹⁵ These other types of sexual activity were thought of as problematic for at least some practitioners. Men who allowed themselves to be penetrated – or, worse, who sought it out – were subject to ridicule and legal and social marginalization.¹⁶ Women who were rumored to take on male gender roles – including sexually penetrating others – were likewise disparaged.¹⁷ Oral sex was thought to bring pollution to the practitioner, and performing oral sex on a woman was the least acceptable act a Roman male could perform, as he was polluting his mouth and inverting power dynamics by (according to the Romans) playing a subordinate role to a woman.¹⁸

Homoerotic and oral sex were indeed depicted elsewhere in Pompeian art. The frescoes in the upper register of the changing room (room 7) of Pompeii's Suburban Baths (VII.16.a), for example, include both subjects: one scene shows a woman fellating a man (scene III); another shows a male performing cunnilingus on a woman (scene IV); one might show a woman penetrating another woman with a dildo (scene V);¹⁹ and two scenes show mixed groups of males and females having sex, including males being penetrated by other males and a woman performing cunnilingus on another woman (scenes VI and VII). Scholars have gone to pains to explain why this imagery – which seems to highlight the *least* normative sexual acts – was placed in the bath complex. Explanations have included that they served as advertisements for prostitutes who worked in or near the structure; that they helped bathers remember where they left their clothing (since the sexual scenes are above depictions of numbered wooden boxes, which are in turn directly above the real shelf for clothes); or that the scenes would have provoked apotropaic laughter that protected the bodies of nude bathers from the evil eye.²⁰ For whatever reason – which may or may not have been related to the acceptability of the sexual acts shown – the scenes came to be painted over shortly before the eruption of Vesuvius.²¹

These sexual acts were not restricted to Pompeii's Suburban Baths, either. Nilotic frescoes from a variety of Pompeian contexts show some of these taboo



37. Fresco i, easternmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway. A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure astride. Note the breast band worn by the female figure, the lampstand with lit lamp on the left, and the pair of slippers under the bed/couch. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

sexual acts.²² One, for example, from the low wall surrounding the garden of VII.2.25, shows three figures copulating in a boat surrounded by threatening Nilotic beasts, with the central female figure performing fellatio on one male figure while being penetrated by another.²³ Homoerotic and oral sex could also be found on objects used during banquets and erotic encounters. As Clarke notes, it was not uncommon for scenes of male–male couples to alternate with male–female couples on terracotta bowls designed for the mass market (Arretine ware), as well as on expensive cameo-glass vessels.²⁴ A terracotta lamp found in the Bay of Naples (and now in the Secret Cabinet of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples) presents a woman fellating a man,²⁵ while a lamp found in Rome, dated to the Imperial period, show a rare scene of mutual oral sex.²⁶

Not only do the brothel's frescoes thus eschew problematic sexual acts, but the specific poses in the brothel's frescoes are less graphic than many poses found in other Pompeian art. As Otto Brendel rightly points out, painters of erotic frescoes had more freedom to create individualized compositions than, say, potters who stamped erotic scenes on lamps.²⁷ Regarding the brothel's frescoes, I suggest that the painter made a conscious choice to hide the act of penetration and to conceal body parts through the positioning of arms and legs or the wearing of a breast band by the female figures.²⁸

For example, in fresco i (the fresco closest to doorway 18; see Fig. 37 and Plate I), the female figure wears a breast band that conceals her breasts, and her left leg prevents views of her genitalia and the act of penetration itself (if the



38. Fresco (scene I), room 7 of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii (VII.16.a). A male-female couple engages in sex, with the female figure astride. The left leg of the female figure is covered by part of the fresco that was painted over this part of the wall. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



39. Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27686). A male-female couple engages in sex, with the female figure astride. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

exact moment of penetration is being depicted, which is debated).²⁹ In many other depictions of a female figure astride a male figure, the female figure's body is turned toward the viewer, revealing the act of penetration as well as the genitalia of both figures.³⁰ This is the case with scene I from the changing room of the Suburban Baths (Fig. 38), which Clarke describes in the following way: "[the male figure] reclines, propping himself up with his elbows, so that the viewer looks over his head, back, and shoulders to focus on his erect penis as it enters the woman's vagina."³¹ At least six other frescoes from around the Bay of Naples (two of which are reproduced as Figs. 39 and 40)³² and a small marble relief from VII.7.18 likewise show more graphic variations than the brothel's version.³³ In addition, the female figure's breasts are fully exposed in all but one of the above (Fig. 39).³⁴ In other variations of the woman-astride pose, the act of penetration is not visible, but the woman's breasts are still exposed to the viewer, as with a fresco and two terracotta lamps (one of which can be seen in Fig. 41) now in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.³⁵ In the case of a fresco from the north wall of room 43 of the House of the Centenary (IX.8.6), the female figure is astride her male companion *backward*, but facing the viewer, exposing her breasts to our view and her backside to her male partner.³⁶

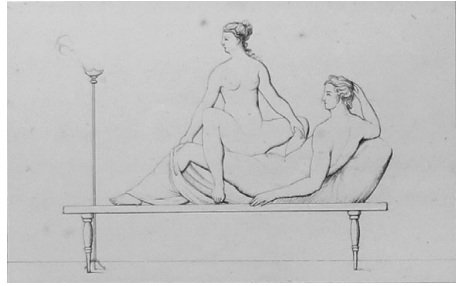
In the next fresco on the southern side of the brothel's hallway (fresco ii; see Fig. 42 and Plate II), the female figure's breasts are fully exposed, though the act of penetration, again, is hidden by the position of the female figure's

legs. Other variations of this pose highlight the act of penetration (if not necessarily genitalia) by drawing viewers' eyes to the meeting of pelvises.³⁷ For example, in a fresco from room x¹ (of disputed function) of the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1), the female figure's farther leg is hoisted onto the shoulder

of the male figure,³⁸ while in another fresco from Pompeii (Fig. 43), the male figure stands with both of the female figure's legs over his shoulders.³⁹ At least two other (now-lost) frescoes from the Bay of Naples contain similar variations (one of which can be seen in Fig. 44).⁴⁰ This type of pose is also found on a lamp from Pompeii (Fig. 45), where the female figure's knee is drawn up to the male figure's armpit, creating a visual focus on the meeting of the male figure's thighs and the female figure's thighs and buttocks.⁴¹ Finally, a Pompeian lamp now in a private collection shows the scene from nearly overhead, exposing more of the figures' bodies and the act of penetration to our view.⁴²

More radical variations could fully expose the body of the penetrated individual – either female *or* male – by turning her or his body toward the viewer, as with scene II from the changing room of the Suburban Baths (Fig. 46), in which a male figure penetrates a female figure turned frontally toward the viewer. This pose is most famous outside Pompeii for its appearance on side B of the Augustan or Julio-Claudian Warren Cup, where a young male penetrates a boy from behind,⁴³ and on the cover of a Flavian-era bronze mirror found on the Palatine hill in Rome, where a male figure penetrates a bejeweled woman from behind.⁴⁴

Two of the three remaining sexual scenes in the brothel – the westernmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway (fresco iv; see Fig. 47 and Plate IV), and the fresco on the northern side of the hallway between rooms b and c (fresco vii; see Fig. 48 and Plate VII) – depict a male figure kneeling behind a female figure on all fours.⁴⁵ In both cases, the female figure's breasts are concealed, either by a breast band (fresco iv) or by the positioning of the female figure's arm (fresco vii).⁴⁶ In some variations of this pose, including a couple of frescoes from the Bay of Naples (Figs. 49 and 50), the male figure's pelvis is drawn back from the female figure's buttocks, revealing the male figure's penis.⁴⁷ In one of these frescoes (Fig. 50), the female figure wears a breast band *under* her breasts, exposing them to the viewer.⁴⁸ In other



40. Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples. A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure astride. Note the lampstand to the left of the bed. From Barré 1877 plate XIX (lower image).



41. Terracotta lamp (MANN inv. 27861). A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure astride. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



42. Fresco ii, southern side of the hallway, second from the east. A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure reclining. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



43. Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27697). A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure reclining. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

variations, such as two lamps from Pompeii (one of which can be seen at [Fig. 51](#)), not only does the female figure not wear a breast band, but her nearer leg is shown fully lifted, revealing the act of penetration and the genitals.⁴⁹ In yet another fresco from the Bay of Naples ([Fig. 52](#)), the male figure (awkwardly) crouches on the bed/couch while penetrating the female figure!⁵⁰

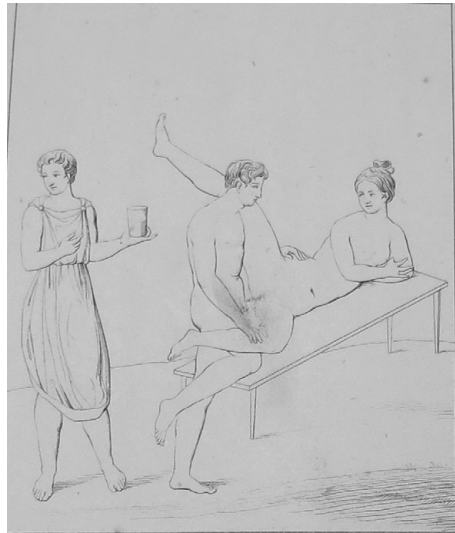
The remaining sexual scene – the northern fresco above the latrine (fresco vi; see [Fig. 53](#) and [Plate VI](#)) – shows a male figure reclining on his right arm underneath a female figure facing away from him on all fours. The poor state of conservation unfortunately makes it difficult to assess how exposed the bodies are. This pose finds few comparisons at Pompeii, though a similar position can be seen as part of a larger scene on the masonry triclinium of the House of the Ephebe (I.7.11). In that

fresco, a male figure likewise reclines on his right arm while penetrating a woman on all fours who faces away from him. An awning shades them in the outdoor scene, and onlookers include a double-flute player and other figures.

An even more acrobatic variation can be seen on a lamp from Pompeii (Fig. 54) in which the reclining male figure turns his torso toward the viewer.⁵¹ Farther from Pompeii, a first-century CE Roman lamp from Augst (Switzerland) shows a similar position, but with the female figure's nearer leg raised and *behind* her male companion's head, a seemingly impossible contortion designed to expose the woman's body and draw attention to the act of penetration.⁵²

The brothel's frescoes thus offer a carefully curated sexual universe.⁵³ This sexual universe is one in which potentially problematic sexual acts – oral sex and the penetration of male bodies – are absent, and one in which bodies and the act of penetration are concealed as much as they are revealed. These characteristics most likely would have been noticed by those in the brothel: not only does the brothel contain the programmatic scene of viewing erotic frescoes (fresco v), but as Bettina Bergmann (among others) has concluded, viewers of Pompeian frescoes would have been expected to compare and contrast imagery both within a space and with other decorative ensembles.⁵⁴

This narrow selection of sexual acts and poses, I suggest, removed potential barriers to arousal for the broadest possible spectrum of clients, which in this structure included male slaves to freeborn men, as well as locals and out-of-towners (as the graffiti attest; see [Chapters 3](#) and [6](#)). For example, male clients who were themselves slaves or former slaves may have been reminded of the sexual objectification and exploitation they suffered at the hands (or other body parts) of their masters or former masters on seeing depictions of male–male penetration.⁵⁵ With that in mind, the lack of that sexual activity in the brothel's frescoes may have made it easier for clients of those statuses to experience desire.



44. Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples. A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure reclining. Note the serving figure on the left holding a cup. From Barré 1877 plate XXII (left image).



45. Terracotta lamp from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27865). A male–female couple engages in sex, with the female figure reclining. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

Moreover, the inclusion of only normative sex scenes in the brothel may have served a similar purpose as the narrow set of sexual acts presented in Hellenistic sex manuals, which are thought to “create a normative intercourse and to reassure the male initiate that he will meet with nothing unexpected.”⁵⁶ This may have been especially important in the context of the brothel’s hallway, which, while privileging the male client with views of all the erotic



46. Fresco (scene II), room 7 of the Suburban Baths, Pompeii. A male figure penetrates a female figure, whose body is fully exposed to the viewer, from behind. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

frescoes, also potentially put him (and his reactions) on display to everyone else in the structure – prostitutes, other clients, friends, and strangers (see further [Chapter 7](#)). Encountering only the most normative of sexual acts in the brothel’s frescoes, male clients would not need to fear having a socially inappropriate verbal or physiological reaction under the watchful eyes of others.

The choice to conceal bodies, in its turn, may have been aimed at preventing the type of reaction some think would have occurred in the changing room of the Suburban Baths, namely, laughter. In that structure, laughter may have been provoked not only by the



47. Fresco iv, westernmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway. A male–female couple engages in sex, with the male figure kneeling behind a female figure on all fours. Note that the female figure wears a breast band, and there are a metallic basin and pitcher to the left of the bed, as well as a footstool with slippers under the bed/couch. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



48. Fresco vii, northern side of the hallway, between rooms b and c. A male-female couple engages in sex, with the male figure kneeling behind a female figure on all fours. Note the footstool under the bed/couch. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

representation of taboo sexual acts but also by the graphic exposure of bodies, which could further accentuate the ridiculousness or baseness of the acts.⁵⁷

In all, the careful choice of sexual acts and poses seems to have been designed to set clients of all statuses at ease, facilitating their experiences of desire.

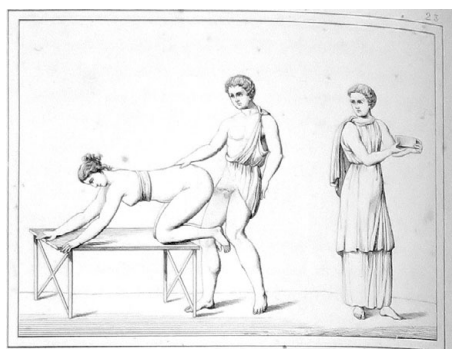
MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT AND AMBIANCE

The now-standard interpretation of the brothel's figural decoration (discussed more later) holds that the frescoes depict an environment of luxury and leisure far removed from the harsh conditions of the brothel itself. The frescoes are thus said to offer a fantasy of elite-style eroticism to the brothel's clientele. However, representation and reality in the brothel are closer than previously thought, with repercussions for individuals' viewing experiences.

All of the brothel's figural scenes except for the Priapus fresco prominently display a bed/couch – the two furniture types are nearly indistinguishable, as mentioned in [Chapter 1](#) – with wooden boards at one or both ends, and legs of turned wood. Each bed/couch is furnished with a mattress, bolster, and linens in various shades and combinations of red, green, and white, often with stripes, and in many cases falling in gentle arcs from the furniture's frame. These same



49. Fresco from Pompeii (MANN inv. 27696). A male-female couple engages in sex, with the male figure kneeling behind a female figure on all fours. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



50. Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples. A male-female couple engages in sex, with the male figure kneeling behind a female figure on all fours. Note the serving figure on the right holding an object. From Barré 1877 plate XXIII (upper image).

frescoes also show a red garland draped from the upper corners of each composition.⁵⁸ Five of these scenes include additional objects beyond a bed/couch and garland; in fact, only one of the extant sexual scenes, fresco ii, lacks additional furnishings.⁵⁹ In fresco i (Fig. 37 and Plate I), a three-footed lampstand – complete with burning lamp atop – can be seen to the left of the bed/couch, and underneath the bed/couch is a pair of slippers.⁶⁰ Fresco ii contains no additional objects, and only one corner of fresco iii is extant. A long footstool with a pair of slippers on top is shown under the bed/couch in fresco iv (Fig. 47 and Plate IV), and to the left of the bed/couch are a shallow basin and pitcher.⁶¹ Highlights on the rim of the basin and shoulder of the pitcher indicate a metallic material is meant to be understood. At the back of the hallway over the latrine, fresco v (Plate V) includes a painting with shutters (i.e., a *pinax*), and fresco vi (Fig. 53 and Plate VI) depicts a pair of slippers under the bed/couch and a basin and pitcher to the right of the bed/couch. Finally, another footstool can be seen in fresco vii (Fig. 48 and Plate VII).

In total, the brothel's extant frescoes depict six wooden beds/couches with mattresses, bolsters, and linens; six red garlands; three sets of slippers; two shallow basins; two pitchers; two footstools; one lampstand with lit lamp; and one shuttered painting. While the types of items shown in the brothel's frescoes are standard for the genre as a whole,⁶² their number, variety, and ubiquity are unusual in sexually explicit frescoes from Pompeii. For example, only one of the seven sex scenes

from the changing room of the Suburban Baths contains an object/furnishing other than a bed/couch – a scroll held by the male figure in scene III⁶³ – and there are no additional objects/furnishings in the three sexual frescoes from room x¹ of the House of the Vettii,⁶⁴ nor in the four sexual frescoes from room f¹ of IX.5.14–16. While many of the explicit frescoes currently on display in

the Secret Cabinet use drapery or other means to indicate an interior setting, the only object depicted is a bunch of greenery on the bolster of the fresco with *lente impelle*, “push it in slowly” painted on it (from room 3 of VII.9.33).⁶⁵ A drawing of another sexually explicit fresco from the Bay of Naples also lack objects beyond a bed/couch.⁶⁶

In contrast, I know of only a handful of explicit frescoes from Pompeii that, like the brothel’s frescoes, include objects. Two examples come from room 43 of the House of the Centenary (IX.8.6). In the fresco from the south wall of the room, one can see a pair of slippers under the bed/couch and a (badly faded) painting on the wall within the fresco; in the other, from the north wall, a garland drapes across the back wall of the interior setting and another badly faded painting hangs on the pictured wall.⁶⁷ The other examples come from drawings of now-lost erotic frescoes from the Bay of Naples. One of these frescoes includes a footstool under the bed/couch and a vessel carried by a slave (Fig. 55);⁶⁸ two show a lampstand with a lit lamp on top (Figs. 40 and 56);⁶⁹ and two more show a vessel carried by a slave (Figs. 44 and 50).⁷⁰

Furnishings and objects are similarly unusual in other types of Pompeian erotic art. Only one of the Secret Cabinet’s six lamps with a sex scene includes any objects (in this case, a lampstand and footstool),⁷¹ and one lamp from near Pompeii, currently in a private collection, has a footstool under the bed/couch of its amorous couple.⁷² A cameo that *may* be from the Vesuvius area (it is currently in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples but of unknown provenance) shows an open *pinax* with a sexual scene inside, lit by a lampstand.⁷³ The brothel’s frescoes are thus fairly rare for their quantity and diversity of objects.⁷⁴

Irene Bragantini suggests that the types of items in the brothel’s frescoes – especially the lampstand of fresco i and the basins and vessels of frescoes iv and vi – have stronger parallels to the furnishings depicted in higher-quality



51. Terracotta lamp from Pompeii or Herculaneum (MANN inv. 27862). A male–female couple engages in sex, with the male figure kneeling behind a female figure whose leg is raised above his head. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



52. Fresco showing a male–female couple engaging in sex, with the male figure crouching behind a female figure on all fours (MANN s.n.). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



53. Fresco vi, northern fresco above the latrine. A male-female couple engages in sex, with a recumbent male figure penetrating a female figure on all fours. Note the basin and pitcher to the right of the bed/couch, and the pair of slippers under the bed/couch. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

erotic frescoes such as those of room D in Rome's Villa della Farnesina, dated to the Augustan period.⁷⁵ In one of those frescoes (Plate IX), for example, a large basin in ruddy gold tones with white highlights stands on the floor in front of the bed/couch, and a tall table with two additional vessels can be seen at the right of the scene.⁷⁶ Clarke adds that the settings and ambiance depicted in the brothel's frescoes would have contrasted with the stark reality of the brothel itself.⁷⁷ He notes the disparity between the wooden beds/couches furnished with mattresses, bolsters, and linens in the frescoes versus the masonry platforms of the brothel itself,⁷⁸ as well as the depiction of items like the lampstand, which, in his view, were more appropriate for higher-class spaces and may not have fit in the brothel's rooms.⁷⁹ Similarly far removed from the brothel's reality, he argues, were representations of leisure, especially in fresco v. He comments that "this painting represents a fantasy where the man and his sex partner have the time – and sophistication – to contemplate an erotic picture before getting down to business."⁸⁰ According to Clarke, the frescoes thus offered the brothel's lower-status clients a fiction of luxury and leisure of the type seen in elite frescoes.⁸¹ Indeed, this interpretation has now become commonly accepted.⁸²



PLATE 1. Fresco i, easternmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE II. Fresco ii, southern side of the hallway, second from the east. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE III. Fresco iii, southern side of the hallway, second from the west. The edge of a bed/couch draped with cloth can be seen at the left, as well as a garland hanging from the upper left corner of the panel. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE IV. Fresco iv, westernmost fresco on the southern side of the hallway. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE V. Fresco v, southern fresco above the latrine. A female figure stands next to a male figure who reclines on a bed. He points to a painting with shutters (*pinax*), which may have originally contained a sex scene, but is now badly faded. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE VI. Fresco vi, northern fresco above the latrine. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE VII. Fresco vii, northern side of the hallway, between rooms b and c, Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE VIII. Fresco viii, northern side of hallway, between rooms c and d. The deity Priapus stands on a base, holding two erect phalluses. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



PLATE IX. Right-hand erotic vignette, northeast antechamber wall of room D of the Villa della Farnesina in Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano [Palazzo Massimo] inv. 1188). Note the large basin and table with two vessels at the right, as well as the two serving figures, both of whom carry additional vessels (the one carried by the female slave is poorly preserved). Used with permission of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.

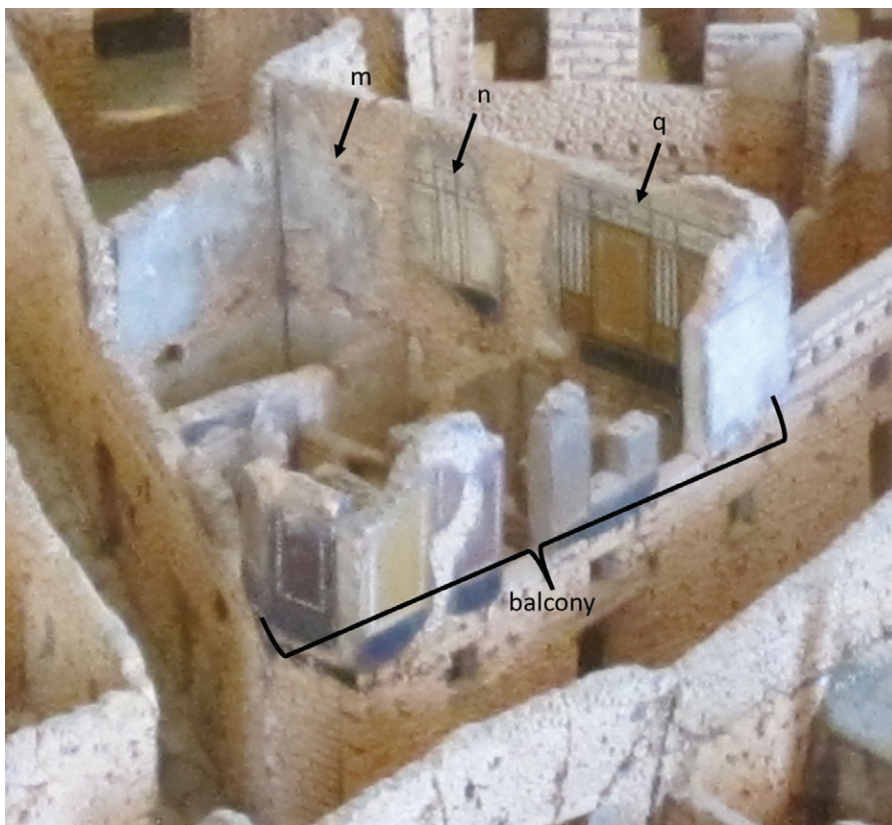


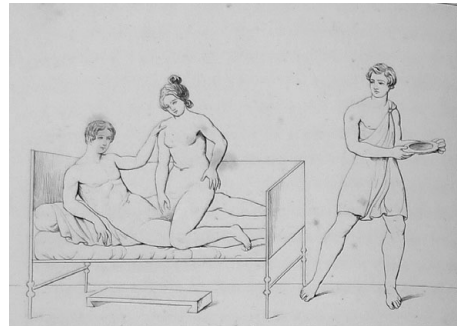
PLATE X. Giuseppe Fiorelli's cork model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, showing the upper floor of VII.12.18-20, facing northwest. Photograph by Massimo Betello, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

When we compare the furnishings depicted in the brothel's frescoes to the original appearance of the brothel's platforms and to the brothel's material finds, we find a surprising degree of overlap between representation and reality.⁸³ The masonry platforms of the brothel, while clearly not made of wood, were almost certainly covered by mattresses, if not also linens and perhaps bolsters, and, as mentioned above, were decorated with painted red ribbons on white stucco.⁸⁴ The platforms were thus nicer than their current appearance suggests, and as argued in [Chapter 1](#), they had numerous similarities to both wooden and masonry sleeping/dining furniture.⁸⁵ In addition, the basins of frescoes iv and vi may have evoked the brothel's bronze, shell-shaped basin, while the other vessels in those frescoes might have had counterparts in the two glass cups and glass bottle found in the structure.⁸⁶ The lit lamp of fresco i may have called to mind the brothel's single-nozzle terracotta lamp. The footstools of frescoes iv and vii may have had echoes in (now-lost) wooden tables that I suggested in [Chapter 2](#) kept delicate items like the glassware safe and close at hand.⁸⁷ Indeed, the finds and graffiti suggest that drinking, conversing – in person and through graffiti – and generally taking one's time in the structure were part of the larger experience that was for sale.⁸⁸ The brothel's fresco of a male and female figure seemingly engaged in conversation while looking at an erotic painting (fresco v) may not have been far off the mark, then.

In sum, the items and ambiance depicted in the frescoes were more similar to the material environment and ambiance of the brothel itself than previously thought. Rather than evoking an unattainable, wished-for level of elite luxury and leisure, the settings of the frescoes evoked the very real, attainable offerings of the brothel itself, offerings that were made available to clients of any status with a little money.



54. Terracotta lamp (MANN inv. 109413). A male–female couple engages in sex, with a recumbent male figure penetrating a female figure on all fours. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.



55. Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples. Note the footstool under the bed, and the serving figure carrying a shallow cup to the right. From Barré 1877 plate XVIII (upper image).

STATUS AND DESIRE

I further suggest that there was no attempt to visually convey the status of the figures in the brothel's frescoes,⁸⁹ encouraging clients of any status to identify with, or objectify, the figures.

While determining the status of individuals depicted in Roman art is not always straightforward,⁹⁰ one common way to identify slaves is through their performance of servile work.⁹¹ Take, for example, the banqueting frescoes from the House of the Triclinium (V.2.4). In one fresco, four figures perform tasks around the assembled banqueters: one bodily supports a hunched-over guest as he vomits; another crouches down to take off a guest's shoes; a third stands tall and extends a cup to a banqueter; and a fourth stands next to a guest, looking at him to anticipate his needs (sexual or otherwise).⁹² In a banqueting fresco from the west wall of room g of the House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6–7), as couples in the foreground recline and enjoy the festivities, a figure in the background props up a banqueter too tipsy to stand on her own, while in another scene from the same room (on the north wall), a figure on the right-hand margin of the fresco pours wine from an amphora into a serving vessel.⁹³ Universally, these figures performing tasks are understood to be slaves.

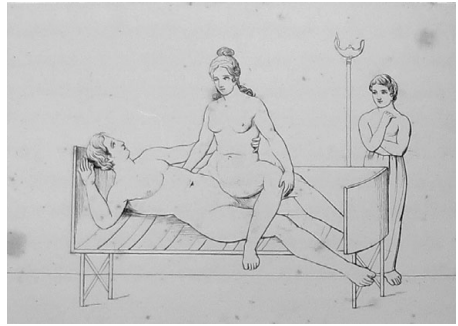
Many of the same types of figures can also be seen in the erotic frescoes from room D of the Villa della Farnesina. In the fresco discussed earlier (Plate IX), for example, a female figure walks behind the central couple carrying a now-damaged object over her head; based on comparative examples, it was most likely a water vessel.⁹⁴ In addition, a nude young male stands attentively next to the bed/couch holding a wine goblet. He is undoubtedly meant to call to mind *ministri*, young male slaves purchased to serve wine at banquets and prized for their beauty and sexual desirability.⁹⁵ In the other erotic frescoes from room D of the villa, figures can be seen standing at attention behind the bed/couch,⁹⁶ removing the footwear of another figure, stirring the contents of a vessel, and transporting items.⁹⁷ Indeed, all of the erotic vignettes from room D include slaves, and one scene has a total of three slaves performing tasks around the central couple.⁹⁸

The prominence of slaves in these images has several further implications. As many have noted, the inclusion of slaves is one way in which a wealthy setting is indicated in frescoes.⁹⁹ In addition, scholars have shown that secondary figures in Roman frescoes were often used by artists to give meaning to the primary figures.¹⁰⁰ In the Farnesina frescoes, for example, the visual contrasts between the servile figures (who perform work or stand at attention at the margins of the composition, and are represented at a smaller scale and with muted tones) and the primary figures (who recline on the bed/couch at the center of each composition, and are shown at a larger scale and in a more vibrant color palette) help mark the latter as elite, or at least non-servile.

Mira Green has argued persuasively about the importance, and repercussions, of status in the Farnesina frescoes. She suggests that the frescoes visually reinforce an expectation that slaves were “witnesses” to their master’s sexual activity, and furthermore, that slave witnesses were *needed* to validate their master’s masculinity and dominance.¹⁰¹ Reactions to this type of imagery would have depended on one’s role in the household,¹⁰² but slaves “would have seen some of their daily tasks reflected back to them and be reminded as well of their position and vulnerabilities within the domestic hierarchies in which they lived.”¹⁰³

It is significant, then, that *none* of the brothel’s sex scenes contains a serving figure (let alone more than one), despite each fresco having space on at least one side of the bed/couch in which a servile figure easily could have been painted.¹⁰⁴ Slaves were in fact included in other examples of Pompeian erotic frescoes, of both the suggestive variety – alluding to a sexual encounter without depicting sexual penetration itself – and the graphic variety. An example of the former can be seen in a fresco originally from the peristyle of the House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26).¹⁰⁵ In this scene, a slave painted in less vibrant tones hovers behind the bed/couch of a couple who seem to be engaged in a quiet moment before or after sexual activity. It was not only allusive erotic scenes that included serving figures; several of the now-lost frescoes from the Bay of Naples (Figs. 44, 50, 55, and 56) show graphic scenes of penetration with serving figures standing at attention near the bed/couch or carrying vessels to or from the central couple.¹⁰⁶

The lack of serving figures in the brothel’s frescoes left the status of the male–female pair in each fresco unmarked. Green argues that this represents a choice to *not* put the brothel’s lower-status viewers in an automatically vulnerable and subservient position (as with the Villa della Farnesina frescoes).¹⁰⁷ In addition, I suggest it maximized the ability of male clients of any background – slave or free, poor or elite – to identify with the generic male figures in the frescoes, and envision themselves in the erotic encounters pictured therein.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the fact that the female figures in the frescoes also lack clear status markers meant that a male client would not have to fear expressing desire for individuals who were off-limits in real life, such as elite girls and married women.¹⁰⁹ The lack of status markers was thus another means for facilitating desire among the brothel’s clientele.



56. Drawing by Henri Roux of a fresco from the Bay of Naples. Note the serving figure behind the bed and the lampstand. From Barré 1877 plate XVIII (lower image).

PRIAPUS

The fresco of Priapus (Plate VIII) stands in a prominent location between rooms c and d, making it the first fresco on the viewer's right as they enter from doorway 18. Visual representations of Priapus served many functions at Pompeii and more widely in Roman culture, from indicating prosperity, as in the famous fresco of Priapus weighing his phallus against a sack of coins from the entranceway of the House of the Vettii, to warding away the evil eye with phallic power, to promoting fertility.¹¹⁰ Many of these same functions have been attributed to the brothel's Priapus, which is uniquely bi-phallic.¹¹¹ Clarke suggests that the fresco may have "promise[d] the client good fortune in sexual pleasure" (since Priapus was known for his lust), as well as providing double protection against the evil eye.¹¹² Antonio Varone concurs, specifying that since each phallus points toward one of the brothel's doorways, the phalluses might protect these doorways – and the individuals inside who were vulnerable to the evil eye in their partially or wholly nude state – with apotropaic power.¹¹³

The details of the fresco suggest yet another interpretation. The outdoor setting and circular base upon which Priapus stands invoke his role as an ithyphallic statue who wards away would-be garden thieves by threatening to penetrate them with his oversized phallus.¹¹⁴ In this way, at the same time as clients might have related to the lusty penetrative prowess of the deity, prostitutes of both sexes might have imagined themselves as the "produce" that Priapus guards – perhaps from the very same clients, should they become violent. Given the multivalent nature of Priapus, we need not choose among these options; it is likely that all of these associations would have been activated for viewers in the brothel.

Now that all of the ground floor's material evidence has been analyzed, we turn in the next chapter to the upper floor of the structure. While it is routinely assumed that the upper floor had some connection to prostitution – a scenario that, in fact, cannot be ruled out – the features of the upper floor suggest another possibility: namely, that the upper floor functioned as rentable lodging.

FIVE

THE UPPER FLOOR

Discussion about the upper floor (VII.12.20) and its role vis-à-vis the ground floor (VII.12.18–19) dates back to Giuseppe Fiorelli's assessment of the structure for his 1862 report in the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*. He opined that the upper floor was also a brothel, but for higher-status clients, presumably because the upper floor's rooms open off a nice covered balcony and have more extensive polychrome frescoes.¹ His evidence for prostitution taking place on the upper level was a plain bronze bell (Fig. 57) found in the doorway leading upstairs from the street (i.e., doorway 20);² after all, as Fiorelli reminded his readers, the eighth-century CE monk Paul the Deacon claimed that ancient Romans “enclosed brothels in narrow spaces, and those who let them inside rang bells, so that, with this sound, their *inuria* [wrongdoing] might be made known.”³ While the connection between bronze bells and prostitution is dubious indeed – bronze bells have been found in all types of structures at Pompeii⁴ – the debate about the upper floor continues to this day. Hypotheses range from it being part of the same brothel as the ground floor or constituting a separate higher-class brothel, to housing the ground floor's prostitutes or pimp, to having no connection with the business on the ground floor.

Having assembled all of the material evidence for the upper floor, I argue that the space was designed to be distinct and independent from the ground-floor brothel. What actually transpired on the upper floor is harder to pin down, and while prostitution cannot be ruled out, there is no evidence for it,



57. Bronze bell from doorway VII.12.20, which leads to the upper floor of the structure (MANN inv. 119069). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

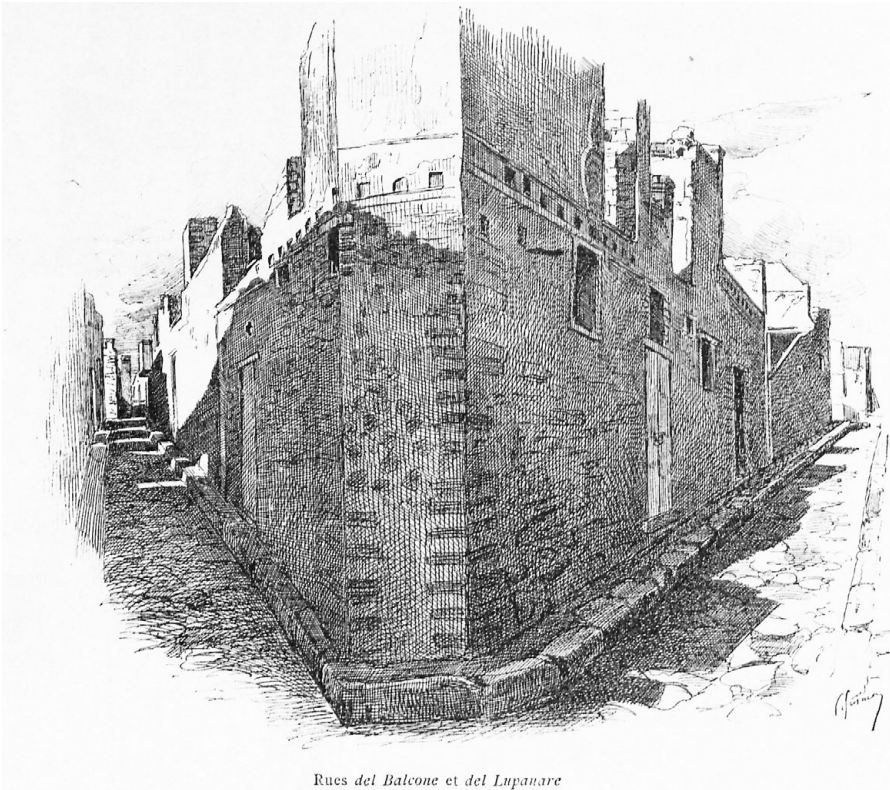
either. What seems most likely is that the upper floor was a flexible space that could be rented out as a whole or room by room, and that those who used the upper floor could include a wide and changing mix of individuals, from travelers passing through for the night, to individuals or families needing a long-term rental, to the manager of the building.

RECONSTRUCTING THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE UPPER FLOOR AND DOORWAY 20

Photographs and drawings of the purpose-built brothel made in the decades following its excavation reveal the destruction caused by the eruption of Vesuvius (Fig. 58).⁵ Only parts of the exterior walls of the upper floor remained. While the northeast corner (on the right in Fig. 58) was preserved to nearly full height, the east wall and southeast corner

were preserved to only partial height, and the walls on the southern side (on the left in Fig. 58) barely survived at all, standing not much taller than the thresholds of the rooms behind. The extent of the damage to the upper floor – and which elements were preserved – can also be seen in the cork model of Pompeii's excavated ruins that Fiorelli initiated in 1861 (Plate X), which has become an important source for scholars seeking information about the appearance of structures at the time of their excavation.⁶ As can be seen in this model (as well as photographs of the interior such as Fig. 3), the floor of the upper level must have collapsed along with the interior walls that divided the space into distinct rooms.⁷ The balcony itself also collapsed, although the ends of the support beams could still be seen in sockets along the exterior wall (see Fig. 58 for these sockets).

The first major intervention concerning the upper floor occurred during Antonio Sogliano's tenure as Director of Excavations in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸ In addition to conserving the standing remains of Pompeian structures,⁹ he was also keen on reconstructing buildings to give scholars and tourists an idea of what Pompeii looked like in antiquity, stressing in his reports that he was guided assiduously by the ancient remains.¹⁰ Upper floors were a focus of his reconstruction efforts, since by restoring these he would give viewers a sense of the original lighting of houses, clarify the layouts of



Rues del Balcone et del Lupanare

58. Early twentieth-century drawing of the exterior, facing northwest. From Gusman 1906 272.

upper floors, and protect these spaces from the elements.¹¹ The end result, he boasted to the Ministry of Public Instruction, was an increased sense of intimacy with Pompeii and, through it, the ancient world.¹²

It was under the umbrella of this objective that he undertook reconstruction of the upper floor of our structure in 1907–1909 (see Fig. 59).¹³ He rebuilt the floor of the upper story using support beams that were the same thickness and layout of the originals, whose dimensions and orientation could be determined by the sockets in the supporting walls.¹⁴ After rebuilding missing parts of the external wall of the upper floor, he then reconstructed the interior walls based on the voids they left in the plaster of the interior faces of the still-standing exterior walls (see Plate X).¹⁵ This revealed a floor plan of five rooms of vastly different sizes and shapes, all of which opened onto the balcony (Fig. 60). He then covered this newly reconstructed level with a roof.

He reconstructed parts of the balcony as well, using the sockets for the original support beams (see Fig. 58) as guidance.¹⁶ This allowed him to reconstruct the floor of the entire balcony, though he hesitated to rebuild



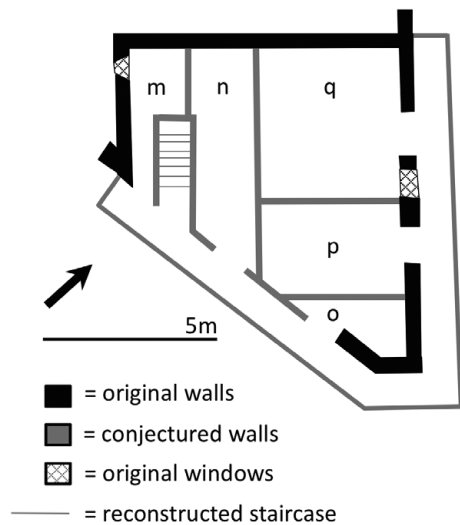
59. Early twentieth-century photograph of the exterior of VII.12.20 facing northwest, ca. 1909, near the end of Sogliano's restoration. From Sogliano 1909 fig. 1.

the balcony to full height since there were lingering questions about how many openings for windows would have existed, and where.¹⁷ Specifically, he was not able to satisfactorily resolve how the placement of windows might relate to the irregular spacing of the doorways along the balcony, and noticed too that the support beams for the southeast corner of the balcony were minimal, perhaps suggesting a cluster of windows there to reduce the weight that needed to be supported.¹⁸ Rather than guess, he fully rebuilt only the two ends of the balcony, leaving a short wall for the rest of it (see Fig. 59).¹⁹

The appearance of the balcony today is owed for the most part to a massive restoration of the entire structure in 1950 by Amadeo Maiuri.²⁰ Like Sogliano, Maiuri made his goal explicit of wishing to restore “the most interesting and unique example of ancient, private, Pompeian buildings.”²¹ After inserting a stronger support system for the upper floor,²² he demolished Sogliano's balcony, rebuilding it to nearly full height with seven window openings.²³ However, we ought to keep in mind Sogliano's concerns regarding the original number and placement of windows. In addition, the fact that Maiuri rebuilt the balcony 20 centimeters wider than Sogliano's version reminds us that we do not know how wide the original balcony would have been.²⁴

Smaller-scale restoration and consolidation has affected doorway 20, leading from the *Vicolo del Balcone Pensile* to the upper floor (see Fig. 4). Damage from Allied bombing during World War II threatened the structural integrity of the southern face of the building, leading to (among other things) the replacement of doorway 20's wooden lintel and frame with an iron lintel and reinforced-concrete doorframe.²⁵ These were replaced yet again during Maiuri's restoration campaign, which sought to regularize the appearance of the brothel's external doorways with uniform doorframes.²⁶ Thus, the original size and appearance of doorway 20 may be impossible to recover, though details concerning the rest of the entrance area can be easily discerned. Doorway 20 opens into a narrow entranceway separated from the rest of the ground floor by a full-height wall.²⁷ In other words, there is no direct communication between the entrance area of doorway 20 – and from there, the upper floor – and the ground-floor brothel.²⁸ At the back of the entranceway, shielded by a half wall, is a latrine.²⁹ The staircase to the upper floor (originally in wood, now in concrete) runs along the eastern wall of the entranceway and is accessible from the rear of the entrance passage.³⁰

While several aspects of the entranceway and upper floor remain unclear (i.e., details concerning doorway 20; the width of the balcony, the number and placement of its windows, and the means by which it was adequately supported), the architecture nevertheless suggests a marked contrast with the ground floor. The size and layout of the rooms on the upper floor vary much more so than those on the ground floor (compare Fig. 60 with Fig. 4), and some are quite large.³¹ Room q of the upper floor, for example, extends across the area taken up on the ground floor by rooms c and d and the hallway.³² Whereas the ground floor rooms all turn inward toward the central hallway, the upper floor rooms do the opposite, turning outward toward the balcony on both the south and east sides.³³ Room q even has a window that looks onto the balcony, and its marble sill preserves a pivot hole for a wooden shutter that could be used to regulate light and privacy. In addition, as Michel Zajac has rightly noted, rooms o, p, and q (if not also the other rooms) have marble thresholds.³⁴ These, combined with unplastered masonry door-jambs, suggest that at least some of the upper floor rooms could be closed off by wooden doors. Finally, the upper floor lacks the masonry platforms of the ground floor.



60. Plan of the upper floor of VII.12.20. After Paone and Morichi, in Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2, with modification.

FRESCOES

The painted decoration of the upper floor also represents a marked departure from the frescoes of the ground floor. As discussed in [Chapter 4](#), the latter is characterized by white-ground rooms, and a white-ground hallway with red winged animals and tapestry-like borders in its middle zone, with erotic scenes in the upper register. Despite damage to large parts of the upper floor, fourth-style frescoes still exist along parts of the interior of the balcony and on the interior faces of the external support walls (see [Plate X](#)), and show that the upper floor has a richer color palette, more decorative elements, and a broader array of themes than the ground floor. Moreover, unlike the ground floor where all of the rooms (apart from the hallway) were given the same (minimal) decorative treatment, the decorative elements of the upper floor created a distinct hierarchy of rooms (see [Plate X](#)).³⁵

At the plain end of this spectrum, the entrance area of doorway 20 has simple white plaster walls, as does room m of the upper floor. Room o adds red bands partitioning the white-ground wall into panels, a decorative scheme on which room n builds.³⁶ In the extant portion of fresco on the north wall of room n, Irene Bragantini was able to discern a candelabrum draped with garlands in the central panel and a swan in the right-hand panel, and the socle appears to be black in the cork model.³⁷ The remnants of fresco in room p – small sections flanking each side of the doorway – are more elaborate yet, with a red socle and yellow middle register with a white tapestry border. This decorative scheme is repeated in much of the preserved sections of the balcony, where solid red and yellow panels demarcated by white tapestry borders dominate the middle zone above a yellow socle.³⁸

The most elaborate décor was reserved for the largest room, room q. Bragantini provides the most thorough description. She identifies a black socle with bulls' skulls, above which are large yellow panels outlined with a heavy red band alternating with narrow white-ground panels.³⁹ In the white panels, Bragantini was able to see architectural settings framing narrow candelabra.⁴⁰ In the white-ground upper register, she notes vessels for mixing wine (kraters) under pergolas joined by garlands, and above this, a stucco cornice with lotuses and clovers.⁴¹ Noticeably, the upper floor and entranceway 20 entirely lack erotic frescoes.

FINDS AND GRAFFITI

Examination of the excavators' notebooks from 1862 confirms that the following items were found in the doorway leading to the upper floor (doorway 20):⁴²

- 1 bronze bell, missing its clapper ([Fig. 57](#))
- 1 rectangular bronze lockplate, broken

- 1 bronze lock mechanism
- 1 bronze stud, without its ring
- 1 medium bronze coin, missing a part
- 1 small bronze coin
- 1 glass vessel (*caraffinetta*)
- 3 glass-paste counters

The first few items in the list above were related to religious belief or superstition (the bell) and security (the parts of the locking mechanism and possibly the bronze stud).⁴³ There is no evidence that bells were used as any sort of equivalent to doorbells in antiquity.⁴⁴ Rather, as Alexandra Villing observes in her rigorous archaeological and literary study of ancient bells, “the bell’s brazen sound furnishes it with protective, potentially fear-arousing and magical apotropaic qualities.”⁴⁵ Perhaps the threshold of doorway 20 – a liminal area between inside and outside, and a transitional zone between ground floor and upper floor – was thought to warrant the protection that the clanging of a bell would be able to provide.⁴⁶ Significantly, while there was no artefactual evidence for locking mechanisms on the two doors of the ground-floor brothel (doorways 18 and 19),⁴⁷ the doorway leading to the upper floor was able to be locked.⁴⁸

The other items point to economic transactions (the coins), pouring liquids (the glass vessel), and gaming (the counters). Unfortunately, no information other than material (glass) and size (16.4 centimeters tall) is given for the “caraffinetta” found in the doorway, though the Italian word suggests a small vessel for pouring liquids, and Penelope Allison identifies the function of vessels with this name as “ablutions/personal hygiene/health.”⁴⁹ Gaming was a common leisure activity that had a mixed reception in antiquity. On the one hand, overindulgence in this activity was one of the markers of marginalized or low-status individuals, and places that hosted gaming could similarly incur a societal stigma.⁵⁰ At the same time, gaming pieces are found in all sorts of contexts, from elite houses (including the House of the Menander [I.10.4]) to the graves of children and adults,⁵¹ and Francesco Trifilò reminds us that Romans carved game boards into the paving of highly visible areas of their fora, as well as their theaters and streets.⁵² Thus, while it may be tempting to connect the gaming pieces found in doorway 20 with marginalized behavior, the reality is that gaming was more commonly practiced and incorporated into urban and domestic spaces than some literary genres might have us expect.⁵³

We ought to be open to a range of explanations for why the coins, glass vessel, and counters were found in this particular space. One possibility is that these items were stored (though not necessarily used) in this space; in fact, Ria Berg has shown that in many structures, items of various functions were stored together in one location until each was needed.⁵⁴

Which objects ought to be ascribed to the upper floor is harder to determine. Descriptions in the supervisors' daily journals of the structures being excavated are vague, especially when dealing with the upper level of the brothel's insula (VII.12; see further [Appendix A](#)). The list below includes any item that may possibly have been found on the upper floor, with the caveat that we may never know for sure how many – if any – of these items actually belong to the upper floor of our structure; for whatever it is worth, Fiorelli attributed the vessel with carbonized food to the upper floor in his 1862 report.⁵⁵

- 1 bronze vessel (with carbonized food, below, in it)⁵⁶
- carbonized (but uncooked) onions and field beans (*Vicia fava L. var minor*)
(Fig. 61)⁵⁷
- 1 bronze hinge with its plate detached
- 1 bronze hinge plate
- 1 bronze support bracket
- various bronze fragments

In addition, items found by excavators on the Vicolo del Lupanare may have fallen through the upper floor's balcony during the eruption; this must be the scenario evoked by Fiorelli in attributing the lampstand (see the list below) to



61. Carbonized onions, possibly from the upper floor of VII.12.20 (SAP inv. 18098/B). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

our structure.⁵⁸ The same set of warnings put forward above applies to this list of finds, too, namely, that all or none might have originally come from the upper level of our structure.

- I small bronze lampstand with its plate detached
- I bronze hinge with its plate
- I bronze pivot with its plate (“bilico con la corrispondente piastrina”)⁵⁹
- I bronze handle of a vessel
- I bronze probe, possibly surgical (“forse un tasto cerusico”)⁶⁰
- I bronze implement (awl?) (“agocella” [*sic*], for *agucella*)⁶¹
- 2 bronze nails
- I small bronze coin
- I medium bronze coin, corroded
- I round glass vessel (*bottiglia*)
- I single-nozzle terracotta lamp, broken in three places
- I single-nozzle terracotta lamp with red glaze
- I boar tooth
- 5 small seashells
- I snail shell

Many of the smaller bronze items in the lists above are parts of furnishings. The three hinge elements are larger than those generally used in furniture, but smaller than those used for doors.⁶² They are most similar, in fact, to hinges we think were used in window shutters or hinged screens.⁶³ The bronze support bracket probably was used to reinforce some furnishing (mobile or fixed).⁶⁴ The bronze *bilico* likely was a pivot lining with its base, used for securing a door to its threshold.⁶⁵ The two bronze nails, depending on their size (which is not given by our documentation), could have been used for a range of purposes, from affixing the hinges or bracket above, to securing other fittings that are no longer preserved. If these items did indeed come from the upper floor of our structure, one could imagine the hinges belonging to the shuttered window of room q, which overlooks the balcony, or the pivot lining coming from room p or q, both of which have extant stone thresholds with pivot markings.

Other functions represented by these items include lighting, which can be seen in the two terracotta lamps and the lampstand. While the latter was quite small (less than 30 centimeters tall), it did have additional decorative features such as sculpted leaves between its feet, as well as feet and a stem that were knotty, perhaps to evoke vegetation.⁶⁶ Other items may have been related to bodily care. For example, the glass vessel might have been for perfume or cosmetics,⁶⁷ and the bronze probe may have been for mixing cosmetics or medical uses.⁶⁸ It is possible that the seashells held cosmetics, though seashells were put to numerous uses in antiquity (and may indicate eating, a scenario posited below).⁶⁹ Coins evoke commerce, while the *agucella* must be some

type of pointed instrument; the name given by the excavators suggests an awl.⁷⁰ The bronze handle presumably belonged to a bronze vessel, though we lack further information that would help us determine what type of vessel it may have been.

Finally, the carbonized onions and field beans (see Fig. 61), the snail shell, and possibly the seashells and boar tooth provide evidence of food preparation or eating.⁷¹ Fiorelli, captivated by the sense of immediacy the carbonized food evokes, portrayed this as the last meal of the upper-floor prostitutes just before the eruption of Vesuvius.⁷² Recent scholarship, however, has focused on the food's implications for how Roman brothels ought to be defined. (Note that this scholarship, following Fiorelli, takes the attribution of the carbonized food to our structure as a given.) Pietro Giovanni Guzzo and Vincenzo Scarano Ussani, while mentioning the food in a footnote, rely on the structure's lack of built-in cooking facilities to support their argument that brothels ought to be defined as places devoted exclusively to the sale of sex.⁷³ Thomas McGinn suggests that the food found in the structure "was presumably available to both staff and guests," and as such, his definition of a brothel "does not . . . exclude the possibility that other things besides sex, such as food and drink, were sold."⁷⁴ He further notes that the term used by Fiorelli for the vessel in which the food was found – *caccabus* – indicates a cooking pot, and thus McGinn thinks that the meal could have been fully prepared on the upper floor (rather than being brought in fully cooked from another establishment).⁷⁵ However, given the uncertainty regarding the vessel – the archaeological documentation describes it variously as a *caldaia* of bronze, a *caccabus* or *caldaia* of copper, or even a rustic *scudella*, perhaps of terracotta⁷⁶ – as well as the loose application of terminology to archaeological finds, we should not press the point.

Regardless of who the intended recipients of the meal were or whether we can claim definitively that it came from our structure, it was undoubtedly a very simple meal prepared with inexpensive and common ingredients. To get a sense of what other food options there were at Pompeii, we can compare it to the contents of a downpipe in VIII.7.12–13, which preserves traces of food eaten on the upper level of that structure. Among the contents, excavators found ample evidence of meat, including fish, birds, and mammals.⁷⁷ Even this, however, does not compare to some of the luxury foods, such as shellfish, sea urchin, and even giraffe, that were found next door to the just-mentioned structure (in VIII.7.9–11).⁷⁸

Unfortunately, the lack of certainty regarding whether the items discussed above actually came from the upper floor of our structure restricts quite severely the types of arguments we can make from these objects. In the following analysis, then, I rely on the architectural and decorative features of the upper floor. The upper floor's walls, I should add, have no documented examples of graffiti. This remains significant despite the loss of the internal

walls, since large parts of the external walls with their frescoes are original and devoid of graffiti.⁷⁹ Moreover, this contrasts markedly with the nearly 150 texts and images found on the ground floor.

ASCERTAINING FUNCTION AND USE

Based on the sections above, we can say that:

1. The upper floor was designed to function separately from the ground floor.
2. The upper floor's architecture and decoration were markedly different from the ground floor's architecture and decoration.
3. Individuals interacted with the upper floor in a different manner from the ground floor.

That the two floors were conceptualized as distinct units can be seen by the lack of direct access from one to the other. One would have to exit onto the *Vicolo del Balcone Pensile* and be allowed entrance into the other space – remembering that doorway 20 had a locking mechanism – to go from one to the other. In addition, the provision of a latrine at the back of entranceway 20, while another latrine was close by on the ground floor of the brothel proper, suggests that individuals were not meant to share these facilities.⁸⁰

The upper floor was also quite different from the ground floor in terms of architecture and decoration.⁸¹ The rooms opened outward onto a common balcony as opposed to turning inward, and not only did the size and shape of the rooms vary to a much larger degree than the ground-floor rooms, but some of them (especially room q) were quite large. Moreover, some – if not all – of the rooms had marble thresholds indicating that they could be closed off from the balcony and turned into truly private spaces. The decoration of the upper-floor rooms varied to a larger extent than the ground floor, as well, with some rooms having simple white plaster like the ground floor's rooms, while others had elaborate, multicolored designs in both fresco and stucco (room q, especially). None of the upper floor rooms had a masonry platform, either.

Evidence for individuals interacting with the space differently than the ground floor comes primarily from the lack of graffiti in the upper floor. This suggests that, regardless of its intended use, the upper floor did not attract the kind of epigraphic interest that the ground floor did. This finding is surprising in and of itself, as nearly every type of structure at Pompeii – public and private, small and large, humble and luxurious – had at least some graffiti.⁸²

The theories that scholars have put forward about the function of the upper floor and how it relates to the ground-floor brothel make varying use of this and other evidence. Most common is the viewpoint that the upper floor was also used for prostitution, a theory that we saw was introduced by Fiorelli in

1862.⁸³ Fiorelli repeated this belief in other scholarly and popular publications,⁸⁴ perhaps contributing to its longevity and tenacity, as it is still found in standard reference works and guidebooks to Pompeii.⁸⁵ In most of these cases, the supposition is taken for granted and no explanation is given.

For McGinn, however, the small size of some of the upper floor's rooms – appropriate for use by a single prostitute, he says – and the upper floor's location (whether he means above a purpose-built brothel or in a neighborhood he calls an “unofficial center of sexual activity”) combine to “guarantee its usage as a venue for the sale of sex.”⁸⁶ As to whether the upper floor ought to be considered part of the same brothel as the ground floor or a separate brothel, McGinn equivocates.⁸⁷ Earlier scholars, however, did not have qualms about claiming that the upper floor was reserved for higher-status clients. While Fiorelli did not spell out his reasons why,⁸⁸ Sogliano did, stating that the ground floor's masonry beds, obscene paintings, and graffiti point to the masses, while the (presumed) wooden beds, more serious décor, and lack of graffiti in the upper floor must have been intended for a more distinguished clientele.⁸⁹

Bucking the trend, Antonio Varone at one point proposes that the upper floor functioned as “private lodgings for those employed in prostitution on the lower floor.”⁹⁰ Having observed that certain prostitutes' names can be found only inside the brothel, but not elsewhere in Pompeii, he extrapolated that those individuals were tied via servitude to the brothel and, because of that, probably also lived in the space. The upper floor, he continues, was the probable living space for these prostitutes (though he ultimately concludes that it is impossible to determine the function of the upper floor).⁹¹ McGinn at one point entertains the possibility of the upper floor serving as the sleeping quarters of the ground-floor prostitutes, but ultimately dismisses this possibility, arguing instead that the prostitutes were much more likely to have slept in the same rooms where they worked.⁹² He supports this view with literary anecdotes in which someone is said (mockingly or disparagingly) to “live” at a brothel and, more convincingly, with the general lack of freedom experienced by prostitutes across cultures, including in Roman culture.⁹³ In addition, he notes that providing additional residential space to prostitutes would be “a gross diseconomy in a business that tended to exploit its workers to the greatest extent possible.”⁹⁴

To summarize so far, most scholars think that the upper floor was used for prostitution in some manner. However, absent the (albeit problematic) criteria of masonry platforms, erotic frescoes, and erotic graffiti, there is no material evidence that prostitution took place on the upper floor.⁹⁵ However, neither is there any proof that prostitution did *not* take place there; after all, most prostitution happened outside the confines of “purpose-built” establishments.⁹⁶ So, prostitution may have occurred on the upper level, but there

are no indications that it was designed for that purpose, and, moreover, the upper floor was designed to be both independent from the ground-floor brothel and also architecturally and decoratively distinct from it (even if both floors fell under the same ownership or management). As to whether the upper floor housed the prostitutes who worked on the ground floor, I agree with McGinn that this is unlikely given the treatment of both prostitutes and slaves in Roman culture.

More options come by way of Luciana Jacobelli and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani, who suggest that the brothel's manager or pimp lived on the upper floor,⁹⁷ and Michel Zajac, who thinks that the upstairs functioned as a hotel or rental apartment.⁹⁸ Indeed, James Packer and Bruce Frier note that the vast majority of urban populations would have had to live in non-*domus* types of properties.⁹⁹ The lack of built-in cooking facilities on the upper level should not disqualify this space as potentially residential, since much lower-class housing stock – from the lofts above shops to whole apartment buildings – lacked permanent cooking facilities.¹⁰⁰ In these cases, we assume that cooking was done on portable braziers, or that individuals ate at or brought in food from one of the numerous food establishments that lined the streets.¹⁰¹ In an apartment complex found at the base of the Capitoline Hill in Rome, for example, none of the units – housing possibly 380 people total – has a built-in cooking facility.¹⁰² Nor should the combination of residential and commercial space in one structure surprise us. As is well known, even *domus*-style houses – including the largest and fanciest properties in Pompeii – rented out shops along their façades.¹⁰³

The upper floor of the brothel even compares favorably to many other inexpensive housing options. The density within these housing units is illuminated by Packer, who estimates that the upper floors of the apartment building at the base of the Capitoline Hill each housed forty-eight people in just under 1,500 square feet.¹⁰⁴ As mentioned in [Chapter 1](#), single rooms at Pompeii that are furnished with a masonry platform and open directly to the street might have been cheap short-term housing.¹⁰⁵ The rooms above or behind shops – constituting more than 40 percent of Pompeii's housing options – might not have been much better, potentially lodging an entire family in a space averaging just under 300 square feet.¹⁰⁶ Slightly larger options include one of the apartments that makes up Herculaneum's House of Opus Craticium (III.13–15), which has just a corridor and two rooms crammed with furnishings,¹⁰⁷ and a small residence at Pompeii (VI.3.21) with three small rooms, a larger room, and one open room – much more similar to the upper floor of our structure, then – but with no clear indications of proper wall frescoes.¹⁰⁸ Other residential spaces might be unpalatable for reasons other than a lack of space and décor. For example, all four wool-working establishments in the brothel's insula had upper floors

that could have been residential in function, and these would have been exposed to the heat of the furnaces and the smell of wool cleansers, which included urine and sulfur.¹⁰⁹ The apartment complex on the slope of the Capitoline Hill was not furnished with its own latrines.¹¹⁰ Compared with these other spaces, the upper floor of our structure – especially if the entire space were rented as one unit – might seem relatively spacious, well decorated, and well appointed.

In his studies of Pompeian rental properties, Felix Pirson notes that “archaeological evidence for a large number of rentable dwellings emphasizes the importance of urban real estate as a ‘productive’ element,” and that there was an “intensive exploitation of real estate” by elites.¹¹¹ That this particular rental property was above a brothel need not change that. In fact, while Roman law imposed restrictions on both prostitutes and pimps, it insulated the owners of brothels – and we assume that the same individual would have owned both floors of VII.12.18–20, since Roman law holds that the owner of the ground floor of a property also owns any upper floors¹¹² – if the owner left the day-to-day operation to others.¹¹³ McGinn takes an inscription from Chersonesus (dated 185–186 CE) as showing that even local town councillors owned brothels,¹¹⁴ and notes that the Roman jurist Ulpian (late second to early third century CE) suggests that it was not uncommon for elites to own and derive profits from brothels.¹¹⁵

Renting out the upper floor would have been another revenue stream for the owner of our building, Zajac observes, and might have been especially profitable in the aftermath of the earthquake of 62 CE, when there was a large market, so it seems, for lower-class housing.¹¹⁶ If the upper floor were rented out, it would join the 150 rentable upstairs apartments identified by Pirson and the forty-nine structures identified by John DeFelice as offering short-term accommodation.¹¹⁷ The latter includes a structure (VII.11.11,14) directly across the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile from the brothel that has been described as the largest “hotel” in Pompeii, with space for as many as fifty lodgers at a time.¹¹⁸

As to who might have lived on the upper floor of our structure, it is entirely possible that longer-term tenants could be lodged in the same establishment as travelers passing through. This scenario not only is represented in Petronius’s *Satyricon* – written and set in the Bay of Naples in the mid-first century CE – but also can be found in Roman legal texts, in which lessees were legally able to sublet rooms to other individuals or families.¹¹⁹ Lockable rooms that open off a common corridor, as we see in the upper floor of our structure, are often the precise type of unit mentioned in legal texts concerning subletting.¹²⁰ At times, then, the upstairs could have been quite crowded, hosting multiple families or travelers at a time, while at other times it might have been used by one family (for example, that of the manager).

RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBORING PROPERTIES

Finally, the very presence of an upper floor necessarily affected the building's neighbors. As Yoshiki Hori notes, party walls between properties in insula VII.12 are not very thick, with the result that they could support an upper floor in only one, not both, adjoining properties.¹²¹ It is not a coincidence, then, that the brothel has an upper floor whose floor beams are supported (partially) by the party walls with the two neighboring properties (VII.12.17 and VII.12.21), and that these neighboring properties, in turn, do not have upper floors directly adjoining the brothel's walls.¹²² How this arrangement was negotiated is unknown, nor is it known whether the brothel's owner had to compensate the other owner(s) for use of their party walls; epigraphic evidence from elsewhere in Pompeii suggests that this may have been the case.¹²³

These neighbors – and whoever lived in or utilized the upstairs of our structure – would have come into regular contact with the brothel's clients and prostitutes (both female and male), who form the focus of the three chapters of [Part II](#).

PART II

SIX

MALE CLIENTS

Ascertaining basic facts about the clientele of the purpose-built brothel is not necessarily as straightforward as it may first seem.¹ Though many of the individuals mentioned in the structure's graffiti have single non-Roman names that in the past were taken as indicators of servility, determining status or even ethnicity from graffiti is notoriously difficult. As mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), Greek names at this point in the Roman Empire cannot be taken as a proxy for Greek ethnic identity nor servile status,² and Antonio Varone's thorough study of names in the brothel's graffiti ascertained that some of the clients were freeborn.³ The prices for sexual services mentioned in the brothel's graffiti – as low as 2 *asses*, about the cost of a cup of table wine⁴ – would, if accurate, have been affordable even for slaves, who often received a small daily allowance from their master.⁵ As others have noted, slave owners could seek sexual satisfaction with their own slaves at home rather than go to a brothel;⁶ however, we should not automatically foreclose the possibility that individuals of more substantial means could patronize the establishment.

Despite the limited information we have, we can nevertheless say that the purpose-built brothel seems to have attracted a range of clients from servile to freeborn. The brothel's graffiti additionally suggest that these clients came from diverse walks of life, ranging from locals (like a certain “Phoebus the perfumer”) to out-of-towners, from those who could write only their name to those who could quote a snippet of Vergil's *Aeneid*.⁷

In this environment, I argue that clients of all backgrounds were able to (temporarily) experience the power, leisure, and masculinity that were the prerogatives, outside the brothel, of freeborn men. Clients were not only offered a privileged visual axis, but with this came potential visual domination over the bodies of male and female prostitutes. Clients likewise had the opportunity to drink reclining like free men and, in socializing with prostitutes, could imagine themselves in the type of leisured environment characteristic, in literature at least, of higher-status prostitution. In addition, male clients of all statuses were presented both the opportunity and the expectation to perform the penetrative sexuality that was one of the hallmarks of freeborn status.

EXPERIENCES OF POWER AND LEISURE

From the moment a client entered the brothel, he was offered privileges and experiences that may have been rarely available to him outside the purpose-built brothel (depending on his economic, social, and legal status). To start, as discussed in [Chapter 1](#), the brothel's architecture set clients who entered the structure from doorway 18 on a privileged visual axis (see [Fig. 15](#)). All of the brothel's erotic frescoes were visible from this viewpoint alone, as were all of the doorways to the rooms, conferring importance and status (*vis-à-vis* others in the brothel, at least) to those commanding this visual axis.

Moreover, this visual power could extend not just over the brothel's spatial and artistic features but also over bodies. Indeed, a common trope of Roman literary representations of brothels is that prostitutes were set on display for the visual pleasure of male clients (as mentioned in the [Introduction](#)),⁸ perhaps reflecting or reinforcing an expectation that prostitutes were not only sexual objects but also visual objects. This visual dynamic may have been further encouraged if the prostitutes were standing in the doorways of the rooms, as this would literally and conceptually frame them as erotic decoration like the row of framed erotic frescoes above their heads. Male clients, then, were encouraged to exercise a powerful, desiring vision over others.

The visual power experienced by individuals entering the brothel gains significance when we consider that some (or perhaps even many) of the brothel's clients were of lower status, and thus may have been denied privileged viewpoints at home, or themselves been the objects of others' vision. Entering the brothel from doorway 18, then, would have given clients of any status the type of visual power and privilege usually restricted to well-to-do men.

In addition, drinking in the brothel – a likely activity given the drinking ware found in the structure (see p. 36) – may have granted clients a privileged experience not allowed to them in the rigidly hierarchical dining world

outside the brothel. Roman dining practices carefully prescribed what and when one imbibed, with whom and on whose authority, and how one's body was positioned in space and with respect to other bodies. Literary texts suggest that the ideal seating arrangement in a Roman triclinium was highly hierarchical, and as Katherine Dunbabin explains it, "strict rules of precedence dictated the positions of the guests."⁹ The decoration of houses at Pompeii likewise privileges certain viewers within dining spaces, offering them axial views into gardens beyond or the best view of a work of art.¹⁰ The postures of those drinking or dining likewise reflected social hierarchies, with free men and women allowed to recline, and slaves obligated to stand or perform work.¹¹

Drinking in the brothel may have given clients the ability to disrupt and refashion the expected social hierarchies that were spatially and visually reinforced by Roman dining practices. Male clients of any legal or social status may have had the opportunity to occupy a privileged location – the presence of just one masonry platform in each room lessening a sense of competition for the best location – and to drink reclining like free men.¹² Some of these same clients may have been servants outside the brothel who were forced to stand at the margins of a banquet and cater to the needs of others,¹³ while others may have been accustomed to jockey for social position at the dinner parties held by their patrons or friends.¹⁴ Drinking in the brothel, then, could be a way for clients to temporarily perform a status outside their own. This is similar to how a banquet scene in a lararium from the House of Obellius Firmus (IX.14.2–4) has been interpreted. Dunbabin notes that this fresco "has been taken to represent the members of the household, perhaps the slaves celebrating a festival at which they were permitted to recline like their betters."¹⁵

If prostitutes were keeping clients company as they drank, this would evoke the more refined, expensive, and long-term experiences associated with courtesans in ancient sources.¹⁶ Drinking with clients is such a commonplace in fictional representations of Greco-Roman courtesans that in one case (mentioned in [Chapter 2](#)), the male client is made to comment on the unusual state of *not* having imbibed with his choice courtesan.¹⁷ Clients of all backgrounds, then, were offered not only an experience where they could physically (in the positioning and posture of their bodies) drink like free men, but perhaps also an experience that evoked the leisure and affective bonds associated with higher-status prostitution.

CLAIMING MASCULINITY

Clients also had the opportunity to participate in normative, penetrative masculinity. The bodily comportment and sexual acts that corresponded with normative masculinity were in fact prominently modeled for clients in the

brothel's frescoes, which, as argued in [Chapter 4](#), avoided depictions of potentially problematic sexual acts. As with visual power and leisure, penetrative masculinity may not have been an option for some clients outside the brothel, especially if they were slaves or freedmen who were acceptable sexual outlets for their masters or former masters.¹⁸

Clients' performances of masculinity took many forms, including writing increasingly inventive boasts about their own penetrative sexual prowess.¹⁹ However, clients who did not live up to this expectation – by allowing themselves to be penetrated or by performing oral sex – could be subject to ridicule. By disparaging the non-normative sexual practices of others, male clients could additionally boost their own claims to normative, socially acceptable sexuality (at least within the walls of the brothel).

Boasts ranged from solitary names and inscribed phalluses to elaborate, witty proclamations about sexual activity. These boasts demonstrate intra-client competitiveness, a competitiveness, moreover, in which the objects of the sexual boasts play a surprisingly small role. At the basic end of the spectrum are the numerous solitary male names inscribed into the brothel's walls, which, as mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), constitute the most common type of graffiti at the brothel. These, I suggest, are abbreviated forms of boasts, standing in for “x was here,” or more specifically in the context of the brothel, “x fucked here.” A sample of these solitary male names includes Neptunalis (*CIL* 4.2214), Σωκᾶς [= Sosis or Sosus] (*CIL* 4.2234), Fructus (*CIL* 4.2244–2245a; see [Fig. 32](#)), Severus [= Severus] (*CIL* 4.2263), Λιβερᾶλις (*CIL* 4.2270), Ampliatus (*CIL* 4.2272), and Romanus (*CIL* 4.2281). These male names in isolation may have been a way for less literate clients to take part in the brothel's discourse. For those who could not even write their own name, they could always draw phalluses on the walls. In fact, one of the brothel's graffiti-phalluses from the west wall of room f is even ejaculating ([Fig. 62](#)), as if to highlight the sexual success reached by a client.

Some individuals, as mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), are additionally referred to with a sexual title, as in *Epaga|thus fututor*, “Epagathus the fucker” (*CIL* 4.2242), from the hallway and *Phoebus pedico*, “Phoebus the ass-fucker” (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465), from the west wall of room f.²⁰ While the elevation of the act of anal penetration (*pedicare*) to the title *pedico* might have struck some as overly specific or narrow, it was still an appropriately masculine, penetrative act to claim.²¹ For some individuals in the brothel, the title alone was insufficient, and an adverb was added to differentiate good *fututores* from just regular *fututores*, as in *Phoebus | bonus futor*, “Phoebus the good fucker” (*CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215) from room e. This may or may not be the same Phoebus just described in room f as an ass-fucker.

A good number of graffiti stake claims of masculine prowess with the sexual verb *futuere*, “to fuck.”²² First-person forms can be seen in statements such as



62. Graffito of a phallus, west wall of room f. Photograph by Anna Serotta, used with permission, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

the laconic *futui*, “I fucked” (*CIL* 4.2191; see Fig. 22), or *Feliclā ego f*, “I f-ed [= fucked] Feliclā [= Felicula]” (*CIL* 4.2199), both from the west wall of room f.²³ If there was any doubt about the sexual nature of the latter graffito, in which the sexual verb is reduced to just its first letter, another graffito immediately below it clarifies: *Feliclām ego hic futue*, “I focked Feliclā [= Felicula] here” (*CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215). A quite elaborate example, from the upper part of the north wall of room e, begins with a fairly standard first line, but then adds a humorous coda: *hic ego cum veni futui | deinde redei domi*, “when I came here, I fucked, and then I returned home” (*CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465).²⁴ None of these first-person boasts names its subject, allowing any male client reading the graffiti aloud to become the masculine, penetrating subject.

More common are graffiti with second-person forms, such as *Felix | bene futuis*, “Felix, you fuck well” (*CIL* 4.2176), and *Vitalio | bene · futues*, “Vitalio, you fock well” (*CIL* 4.2187), from the west wall of room f.²⁵ The second-person form lends an authoritative quality to these statements. A reader might not believe what a male client says about himself – of course he says he is a good fucker! – but might find the same statement more believable if it seemed to come from someone else, especially if that source were a prostitute who had experience with the client.²⁶ In fact, I posit in Chapter 7 that prostitutes may have written these statements as a form of emotional labor, or at the very least, that their personas were coopted to add authority to these boasts. Two iterations of a graffito in room d best this category with a variation on a common love graffito seen around Pompeii (*quisquis amat valeat*, “whoever loves, may he fare well!”): *Victor | valea qui bene | futues*, “Victor, may you fare well who focks well!” (*CIL* 4.2260 Add. p. 216; *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 has a slightly different word order).²⁷

Others play with the formula “x fucked here,” as in Μουσαῖς | ἐνθάδε | βεῖνεῖ, “Mousais [= Mousaios] fucks here” (*CIL* 4.2216 Add. p. 215) from the east wall of room f.²⁸ In a more elaborate version of this formula, from the west wall of room f, the profession of the client is specified and a superlative adverb is added: *Phoebus · unguentarius | optume futuit*, “Phoebus the perfumer fucks best” (*CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215). The superlative in this graffito differentiates Phoebus from other clients, allowing him to claim a peak of masculinity. Other variations include other participants, as in *Bellicus hic · futuit quendam*, “Bellicus fucks here a certain one” (*CIL* 4.2247 Add. p. 215) from high on the north wall of room e, and *Victor cum Attine | hic fuit*, “Victor with Atthis[?] fucks here” (*CIL* 4.2258), from the north wall of room d.²⁹ Another graffito from the west wall of room f describes a group of male clients, and even includes a date: *XVII K(alendas) Iul(ias) | Hermeros | cum Phile|tero · et Caphi|so hic · futu|erunt*, “17 days before the K(alends) of Jul(y), Hermeros with Phileterus and Caphisus fucked here” (*CIL* 4.2192 Add. p. 215). The addition of an adverb in the following graffito, *Synethus | Faustillam | futuit | obiq(ue)rite*, “Synethus fucks Faustilla everywhereily” (*CIL* 4.2288), one of the few graffiti from room c, allows Synethus to stand out in comparison to the others and draws attention to his masculine vigor in having sex in many locales (or many orifices?).

Clients could also display their masculinity by flaunting the number of their sexual partners. One graffito from above the masonry platform in room f reads *hic ego puellas multas | futui*, “here I fucked many girls” (*CIL* 4.2175; see Figs. 29 and 30). Placidus goes one better in a graffito from room d, including his name and emphasizing his masculinity with the arbitrariness of the object: *Placidus hic futuit quem voluit*, “Placidus fucks here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2265), but his graffito lacks the humorous punch of a graffito mentioned in Chapter 3: *Scordopordonicus hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit*, “Scordopordonicus [= Mr. Garlique-farticus] fucks well here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2188), from above the platform in room f.

Other sexual acts – as long as they involved penetrating the bodies of others – could also be used in masculine boasts. We have already seen the claim to anally penetrate in the statement *Phoebus pedico*, “Phoebus the ass-fucker” (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465), and this act reappears in the brief graffito, *pedicare volo*, “I want to ass-fuck” (*CIL* 4.2210) from the east wall of room f. The violent act of penetrating someone’s mouth is presented in the fragmentary graffito *irrumo*, “I face-fuck” (*CIL* 4.2277) from room d.³⁰ As with graffiti containing the first-person form *futui* discussed above, the first-person verb forms in these graffiti would have made any and all readers the subject of the sentence, affirming a male client’s virile masculinity.

The variations on standard formulae – “here I fucked *many* girls,” “Phoebus the *good* fukr,” “Placidus fucks here *who he wished*” – imply a competitive atmosphere of clients outdoing one another (literally and figuratively). Clients

who boasted that they fucked better, or in more places, or with more women or boys than other clients advanced higher in the intra-client masculine hierarchy. Furthermore, the type of rivalry seen in the boasts did not rely on an oppositional structure of masculine versus non-masculine; this was not a zero-sum game. Phoebus's and Placidus's claims to masculine sexuality reveal a competition taking place in degrees rather than absolutes.

Moreover, the graffiti demonstrate a wide range of options in (1) naming partner(s) in these sexual acts (twelve graffiti), (2) mentioning a general category of partner (*puellas*, for example, or *quem voluit*; four graffiti), or (3) eliding mention of any other participant (twenty graffiti plus a few dozen isolated names).³¹ The variable role of sexual objects ultimately will reveal the underlying rhetoric of these boasts.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's analysis of homosocial relationships through the rubric of "erotic triangles" and David Wray's examination of gendered dynamics in the love poetry of Catullus (an influential Latin poet from the first half of the first century BCE) can help illuminate the structure of these boasts.³² Sedgwick argues that Victorian literature often used women symbolically, with communication routed *through* them from one male participant to the other. In the Victorian context, the effect was that men expressed homosocial desire for each other through heterosexual desire directed toward a woman, ultimately using women to strengthen the bonds between men. Building on Sedgwick, Wray argues that Catullus's poetry about sexual acts with women were really proclamations of manhood to other men.³³ Wray sees this especially in Catullus's poems about Lesbia, one of his primary objects of desire. Take poem 37, for example, where Catullus's rival, Egnatius, is flirting with Catullus's girl (*puella*). Traditionally, as Wray puts it, this poem "has been conscripted into service as a (minor) moment in the tale of impassioned anguish that is the Lesbia novel."³⁴ Wray's reading, however, is that "The exchange or message ... is 'homosocial': an affair ... ultimately between Catullus and Egnatius. What the Catullus of Poem 37 has lost is chiefly *existimatio* ('face') and only secondarily the *puella*; his manhood has been impugned, and it is for that reason that the loss of the *puella* smarts."³⁵ Thus, even poems that appear on the surface to discuss the narrator's relationship with women (especially Lesbia) were overwhelmingly about the performative display of manhood *for other men*. In these poems, the woman "serves as a coin of exchange passed between the sender and receiver of the poem, both adult males."³⁶

In the brothel, boasts were not addressed to a specific male rival, but were proclamations meant to be read (aloud) by anyone and everyone. The "coins of exchange" were the named prostitutes: "Felicia," Faustilla, and others. They need not necessarily be female, either; male prostitutes were equally useful in this matter (see [Chapter 8](#)).³⁷ In addition, it seems not to have mattered for

boasts of masculinity that the clients were paying prostitutes to have sex with them, that the “coins of exchange” used in their boasts were bought with their own coin. The underlying structure of graffiti with named objects was a triangle in which the male clients communicated their masculinity to other clients through boasts of sexual acts with prostitutes.

The rest of the boasts, however – those with a generalized object or no expressed object – reveal the true nature of the rhetoric behind these boasts. In boasts with a generalized direct object, the position occupied by a specific, named prostitute was replaced with the category or symbol of a prostitute. What had formerly been a triangle with a prostitute as a “coin of exchange” between males became a triangle with a weakened or symbolic third pole. The boasts without any objects go further, eliminating the sexual object altogether. With this last category of boasts, the third pole has been weakened to the point of being superfluous; male clients simply engaged directly with each other. The triangle, then, has become a horizontal line between males of (roughly) equivalent status.

The option to frame a masculine discourse without a triangular relationship illuminates and contextualizes the entire corpus of boasts. That is, even in the graffiti that *do* name the boast’s sexual object, the object is already/nevertheless superfluous, the rhetorical line between the client and the prostitute dotted rather than solid. The ultimate effect of the symbolic and superfluous nature of the third pole of the triangle was to reinforce the ideological primacy of the active male subjects and their (competitive) connections with other male clients.

Other graffiti, however, solidified the communal masculine identity of clients in opposition to two sets of ideological “others”: penetrated or polluted males and sexualized female prostitutes. While Latin literature abounds with invective slurs against non-normative males,³⁸ only a few graffiti in the brothel follow suit. One of these, from the south wall of room e, accuses *ratio mi cum ponis* | *Batacare te pidicaro*, “When you hand over the money, Batacarus, I’ll ass-fuck you” (*CIL* 4.2254 Add. p. 216).³⁹ Batacarus, as the one handing over the money, must have been a client at the brothel. The graffito-writer, then, used this graffito to portray Batacarus as a penetrated (and therefore emasculated) male. A sketched phallus at the beginning of the graffito may have added an element of violence and aggression, turning the graffito into a potential threat (see further pp. 126, 138–139). In addition, prominence is given to the name of the impugned party – Batacarus is the first word of the second line – rather than to the name of the writer, who is anonymous. Indeed, the first-person perspective of the graffito allowed every reader to become the masculine penetrator and reinforced the superior status of the reader(s) vis-à-vis the penetrated Batacarus. The collective quality of this statement is an important aspect of how masculinity was negotiated in the brothel.

Another rare instance of defamation is the following graffito from the brothel's hallway: *Froto Plani | lingit cun|num*, “Froto [= Fronto], slave of Planus, licks cunt” or “Froto [= Fronto] clearly licks cunt” (*CIL* 4.2257). This attack against “Froto” calls attention to his polluted status and questions his role as a penetrating male; *cunnum lingere* was even sometimes conceptualized as penetration of the mouth.⁴⁰ Furthermore, if we take *plani* as a misspelling of the adverb *plane* (as in the second translation above),⁴¹ the graffito implies that Fronto's sexual activities are apparent to all. A final example, from the west wall of room f, may have had a defamatory subtext: *Arphocras hic cum Drauca | bene fuit denario*, “Arphocras [= Harpocras] with Drauca fucks well here for a denarius” (*CIL* 4.2193). While on the face of it this seems to be a typical boast like those seen above, a high cost of services is sometimes associated in Latin invective with seeking out non-normative sexual practices, and thus readers may have wondered what activities would have cost “Arphocras” so much money!⁴²

Unlike the boasts seen above, sexuality in these graffiti works as a zero-sum game in which the degradation of one male leads to the responsive elevation in masculine sexuality of another. In these graffiti, however, it is not simply one male client who can benefit at the expense of these non-normative clients. Rather, the lack of named accusers allows any, and potentially every, male to rise in status compared with Batacarus, Fronto, and Harpocras. These penetrated and polluted clients become the “fall guys” against whom the rest of the clients unite, and in the process, the rest of the clients reaffirm their own normative male sexuality.

These defamatory graffiti seem to take the shape of a triangle, with a male writer communicating with a male reader through a male object of derision. However, the alignment of the writer's and reader's interests against a mutual ideological “other” draws these two poles of the triangle together. This structure in many ways parallels Freud's A-B-C model of humor, which Amy Richlin has shown is appropriate to the context of Roman sexual humor.⁴³ In Freud's model, A tells a joke about B – C, thus drawing A and C closer together.⁴⁴ As Richlin explains, “All join together in laughing at B . . . The more pertinent a victim B is – the greater the number of Cs who are normally vexed by such a B – the greater the audience's solidarity.”⁴⁵ In both models, the end result is an increase in group cohesion. In the brothel, moreover, the structure was reifying, reactive, and zero sum: the boundaries around normative and non-normative male sexuality were strengthened by this absolute polarity; to strengthen or solidify one pole was to do the same, reactively, to the other; and finally, for normative males to gain, non-normative males had to lose.

I suggest that a similar boost in male client cohesion may have resulted from graffiti that highlighted female prostitutes' sexual acts or sexual prowess.

These graffiti might have been proclamations of sexual agency written by the prostitutes themselves (as I suggest in [Chapter 7](#)),⁴⁶ compliments written by appreciative clients, or advertisements meant to drum up more customers. Regardless of who wrote the graffiti and for what purpose, as a group they could play a role similar to that of the graffiti concerning penetrated or polluted males in the brothel.

Most of the graffiti with a female subject concerns fellatio, as in *Murtis ·bene | felas*, “Murtis, you suk well!” (*CIL* 4.2273 Add. p. 216) from room d.⁴⁷ They thus have the effect of highlighting the prostitute’s condition as both penetrated and polluted. Others, such as *fututa sum hic*, “I [a woman] was fucked here” (*CIL* 4.2217) from the east wall of room f, draw attention to the prostitute’s sexually penetrated condition.⁴⁸ The “sexuality” of female prostitutes is further accentuated by the prominent placement in nearly all of these graffiti of the prostitutes’ names and acts and by the elision of sexual partners in many of the graffiti. This “sexuality,” moreover, stands in marked contrast to the *pudicitia*, “chastity,” and *verecundia*, “modesty,” of respectable femininity.⁴⁹ While male clients could reinforce their claims to proper masculinity in their boasts, this set of graffiti would call attention to prostitutes’ *non*-adherence to societal norms.

When employed in the service of a rhetoric of masculinity, the structure of these graffiti takes the form of a vertical line with female prostitutes at the bottom and normative male clients at the top, regardless of the original intent of the graffiti. More precisely, it is the communal hypersexuality of the prostitutes that forms the bottom pole, rather than any individual prostitute. Communal masculine identity was solidified by the polarized distinction propagated by the graffiti between socially respectable (i.e., male client) and disrespected (i.e., female prostitute) sexuality. Female prostitutes were thus exploited not only sexually but also ideologically: even when they were the subjects of the graffiti, they nevertheless filled a symbolic role in a male-dominated discourse.

In sum, boasts about male sexuality functioned in an atmosphere of rivalry to establish a relative hierarchy among normative male clients, while an oppositional attitude toward non-normative males and sexualized females consolidated communal masculinity and elevated the male clients, through their normativity, to a superior status. The brothel’s male clients, whatever their status, used the brothel and its graffiti as a competitive arena for experiencing and proclaiming penetrative masculinity.

RELATIONSHIPS

At the same time as male clients exercised visual power over the bodies of prostitutes and made use of their labor – both sexual and ideological (as in the

discussion earlier) – clients may have also formed affective relationships with these same individuals.

That clients desired to form relationships with those who worked in the structure may be gleaned from greetings written to prostitutes on the structure's walls. As we saw in [Chapter 3](#), a certain Marcus wrote the following greeting to the woman Scephis on the west wall of room f: *Marcus · Scephini ubique sal(utem)*, “Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Scephis everywhere” (*CIL* 4.2201). Male clients seem the likely writers of other greetings to prostitutes, such as *victrix Victoria va(le)*, “Conqueress Victoria, hey!” (*CIL* 4.2212 Add. p. 215), and *va(le) issa | Fabia*, “hey mistress Fabia!” (*CIL* 4.2239), both from the east wall of room f.⁵⁰

In addition, the cosmetics or perfume vial found in the structure (see [Chapter 2](#)) may have been a gift from a client to a prostitute. Not only is perfume a common gift to prostitutes in the literary imaginary,⁵¹ but one of the brothel's clients proudly included his occupation as perfumer (*unguentarius*) in his sexual boast (discussed above): *Phoebus · unguentarius | optume futuit*, “Phoebus the perfumer fucks best” (*CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215). Because of this graffito, the vial may have been interpreted by others in the structure as a gift from Phoebus, regardless of its true (and ultimately unknowable) origins.

In considering the possibility that the perfume/cosmetics vial was a gift from Phoebus, it is not insignificant that the name Phoebus appears a total of five times in the brothel. *Phoebus pedico*, “Phoebus the ass-fucker” (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465) and the fragmentary name *Phoeb* (*CIL* 4.2182) were written on the same wall (the west wall of room f) as the boast above, and the whole name was written on the north wall of the same room (*CIL* 4.2207).⁵² On the north wall of room e, the graffito *Phoebus | bonus futor*, “Phoebus the good fucker” (*CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215), was apparently accompanied by (or at least near) a portrait of a man – perhaps Phoebus himself.⁵³ If these all refer to the same individual, they suggest that Phoebus might have been a repeat customer and one, moreover, who wanted to make his presence in the brothel longer-lasting through the inscription of graffiti. We might interpret the possible gift of perfume/cosmetics in a similar light, namely, as part of Phoebus's strategy to partake in longer-term relationships within the brothel.⁵⁴

Scholars may be reluctant to imagine clients giving gifts to prostitutes in the purpose-built brothel, ascribing such a practice to the lovers of higher-status courtesans rather than to the clients of brothel prostitutes. However, legal texts indicate that gifts could be, and were, given to prostitutes, even if they raised moral and legal questions.⁵⁵ The first-century CE orator Quintilian mentions a case in which a prostitute (*meretrix*) has been named as a beneficiary in the will of one of her clients,⁵⁶ while the Roman jurist Ulpian (late second through early third century CE) debates whether a client has grounds for recovering what is given to a prostitute.⁵⁷ Unmarried prostitutes were restricted by the *lex*

Iulia et Papia to a maximum of one-fourth of a client's patrimony, showing both that (limited amounts of) wealth could be transferred to prostitutes and that this caused anxiety.⁵⁸

Moreover, Pompeii's own territory (specifically, Moregine, along the banks of the Sarno river near its outlet into the Tyrrhenian Sea) furnishes a contemporary example of gift-giving within a relationship of exploitation.⁵⁹ A woman killed by the collapse of the building she was in during the eruption of Vesuvius was found wearing a gold serpent-headed armband with the text *domnus [sic] ancillae suae*, "master to his slave" (*AE* 2001 803), punched on the inside of the band.⁶⁰ Numerous questions remain about this unique find, from the relationship between the deceased woman and the other individuals who died with her, to the identification of the building she was discovered in and whether she lived or worked there (or had fled there), to the history of the decades-old armband before it came to be worn on the arm of the thirty-something-year-old woman (had it been passed down from an unnamed master to a series of female slaves, one after another?), to whether the woman was also a prostitute or madam.⁶¹ Felice Costabile ultimately suggests that the armband was a gift from a master in love with his own slave, reminding us that relationships of dominance could have affective aspects, including the giving of gifts (or "gifts," since the master retained legal ownership of the jewelry) – and in this case, quite expensive ones.⁶²

The giving of a gift did not undo or negate the power dynamics at play in the case of the armband, nor in the case of the brothel's possible gift of cosmetics/perfume. Jennifer Baird notes on the armband, "even if a master did give his slave girl an expensive and visible gift . . . his 'very own slave girl' she remained."⁶³ The possible gift from a client to a prostitute in the purpose-built brothel *does* encourage us to revisit our assumptions about the types of relationships that took place between the brothel's clients and prostitutes, and may hint at a less rigid hierarchy of prostitution in ancient Roman culture than previously acknowledged.⁶⁴

In sum, clients of all statuses were offered opportunities to experience leisure and to perform masculinity. Moreover, these opportunities may not have been available to clients – if they were of low social or economic status – outside the brothel. As we will see in [Chapter 7](#), these opportunities came at the expense of the brothel's prostitutes, who were called on to perform not only sexual and ideological labor but also emotional labor.

SEVEN

FEMALE PROSTITUTES

While female prostitutes make frequent appearances in Roman literature – they were “good to think with” – their reality is much harder to access.¹ Enormous progress has been made by Thomas McGinn, who uses literary and archaeological evidence from the Roman period, supplemented by comparanda from more recent historical time periods, to reconstruct the civic, social, and economic constraints under which female prostitutes operated in the Roman world (in short: it was grim).² More locally, as mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), Antonio Varone’s study of the names in the purpose-built brothel’s graffiti shows that some of the women in the structure were free rather than slaves, and that some of the brothel’s prostitutes seem to have also sold sex elsewhere at Pompeii.³

What remains to be done is an in-depth study of the experiences of the female prostitutes themselves: how they represented themselves and their work, how they interacted with clients and among themselves, and what avenues were available for agency in the face of exploitation. I suggest that female prostitutes were exploited not only sexually but also emotionally, while at the same time they were able to carve out space and time for fostering relationships with clients, for crafting complex performances of their personas, for expressing their own subjectivity, and for reclaiming their humanity. On rare occasions, they were even able to turn the tables on clients and reframe them as objects of derision or surveillance.

EXPLOITATION

Before delving into what the brothel's material evidence can tell us about the lives of its female prostitutes, it is important to understand the precariousness and violence that prostitutes faced in the Roman world.⁴ First, the women who worked in the brothel were probably not in a position – legally if they were slaves, economically if they were poor – to refuse clients.⁵ Indeed, one of the defining traits of prostitutes both in the popular imagination and in later codifications of law was their indiscriminate availability.⁶ Additionally, it seems that those who worked in brothels could be robbed with impunity; more dire was the fact that there may not have been legal recourse if prostitutes were raped.⁷ McGinn, summarizing the outlook for Roman prostitutes, notes that “comparative evidence suggests that brothels, as well as the prostitutes working inside and outside of them, have only rarely *not* been exposed to criminal activity, in the form of beatings, rape, murder, robbery, theft, and destruction of property.”⁸

Prostitutes had to fear violence and abuse not only from their clients but also from their owners or managers.⁹ As Keith Bradley reminds us, masters routinely used physical (and sexual) violence against their slaves, including floggings, confinement, shackling, branding, and collaring.¹⁰ In one case from Roman North Africa (dated to the late fourth century CE), a lead slave collar was inscribed *Adultera meretrix tene quia fugivi de Bulla Rg*, “Adultera [is my name?], I am a prostitute.¹¹ Restrain [me] because I have fled from Bulla R(e)g(ia)” (*ILS* 9455).¹² As Jennifer Trimble has pointed out, this collar, like others, would have required the forcible detention of Adultera while a blacksmith hammered the rivet on the back of the collar to secure the two ends of the band and permanently affix it around Adultera's neck.¹³ Adultera died still wearing the collar – it was found around the neck of her skeleton.

These types of vulnerabilities formed regular tropes in literature all the way through the Roman period, pointing to commonalities in how prostitutes could be exploited in the Roman world, commonalities that still threaten many prostitutes today.¹⁴ For example, Serena Witzke has written about the pervasive abuse of prostitutes in Roman comedy (the late third through the mid-second centuries BCE), drawing attention to how prostitutes in the comedies of Plautus “soliloquize about the dangers of their profession, the violence of the young men . . . , the squalor they live in when they do not earn enough money, their lack of legal or social protection, and the real danger of dying on the street if they are unsuccessful at their profession.”¹⁵ Similar types of vulnerability were literary themes centuries later in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* (second century CE) and Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists* (late second to early third century CE), in which girls need to prostitute themselves to support

their family,¹⁶ clients steal from prostitutes during sex,¹⁷ and clients threaten to break in and/or kill prostitutes (often out of jealousy).¹⁸

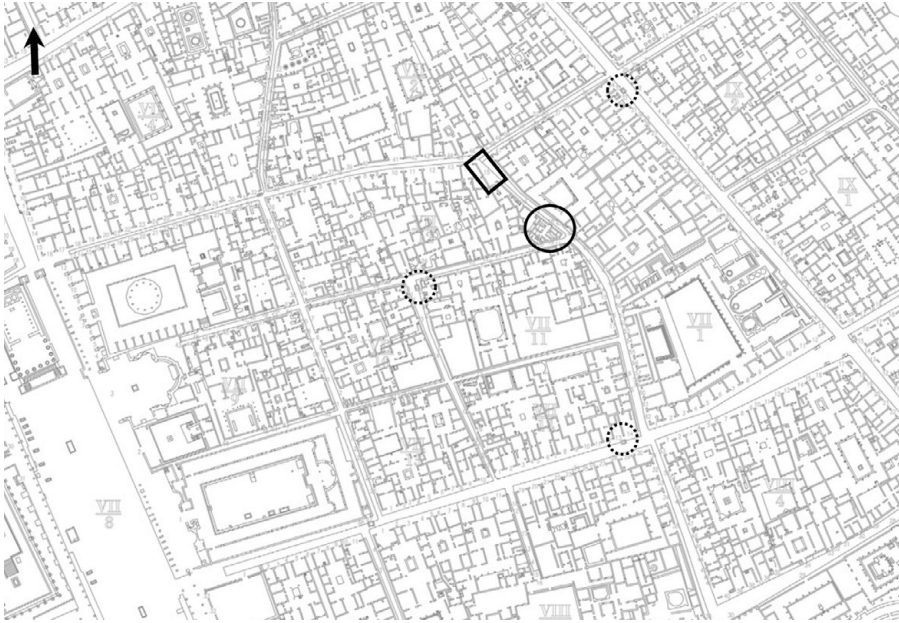
It is against this background of exploitation, violence, and precariousness that what I call the “emotional economy” of the purpose-built brothel took shape.

PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL LABOR

In the brothel, a prostitute’s primary function was to use her body to perform sexual labor. This labor likely involved taking part in sexual acts that were unpleasant or even painful, as all but the most economically secure prostitutes would have been unable to refuse a client’s demands (as mentioned above). In addition to this not inconsiderable sexual labor, I suggested in [Chapter 6](#) that prostitutes had an additional ideological role in the brothel, in that male clients could use statements about prostitutes’ non-adherence to cultural norms to help boost their communal claims to normative masculinity. Here I posit further types of labor that prostitutes were expected to perform, namely, physical and emotional labor. Physical labor might involve direct bodily care for clients – shaving their facial hair – or hauling water from local fountains back to the building. Emotional labor encompassed praising clients’ sexual prowess, chatting with them while drinking, and writing greetings to them on the walls of the structure. These types of labor can be seen as one more way in which the prostitutes were exploited; at the same time, these forms of labor may have opened avenues for prostitutes to exercise agency, especially in terms of forming relationships with clients who might then help improve their conditions.

I have already briefly mentioned (in [Chapter 2](#)) the possibility that the brothel’s *raschiatoio* might have been used to offer shaves to clients. If so, this would represent a type of bodily care offered to clients in addition to sex, as well as one more type of labor expected of prostitutes. Moreover, this activity may have required quite a time commitment, as a modern experiment using razors like those from antiquity necessitated forty-five minutes for a close shave.¹⁹

Water would be needed to lubricate the beard during the shave and for other bodily care practices, such as bathing with the bronze shell-shaped basin found in the structure. Since the brothel does not have its own water supply, someone would need to fetch water from a nearby fountain and then ultimately dispose of it after use (presumably in the street or down the toilet at the back of the hallway). Two nearby fountains are in heavily trafficked and highly visible locations ([Fig. 63](#)): one, to the south, is near the corner of the Vicolo del Lupanare and the Via dell’Abbondanza; another, to the northeast, is near the intersection of the Via Stabiana and the Via della Fortuna.²⁰ If a prostitute were



63. Map of area around the purpose-built brothel (in the solid circle), with the three closest public fountains indicated by dotted circles. The rectangle indicates a neighborhood “piazza.” Underlying map Dobbins and Foss 2007, used with permission of the authors.

to fetch water at either of these fountains, he or she would pass a number of shops and houses on the way to and from the fountain, and be visible to a wide range of individuals, including shop owners, customers, travelers, men and women of all statuses going to the Stabian baths (VII.1.8), clients entering or leaving the houses of their patrons, members of households (including men, women, and children), and slaves. This visibility may have helped drum up additional business,²¹ and adds to a growing body of research confirming that prostitutes were omnipresent in the urban landscape.²²

Sandra Joshel and Lauren Hackworth Petersen’s analysis of Roman “slave tactics” – slaves’ disruption of, or refusal to cooperate with, the ways in which their bodies, labor, time, and movements were orchestrated by their masters – sheds light on how hauling water from these fountains could be opportunities for agency.²³ Joshel and Petersen suggest that trips to fountains may have afforded slaves an opportunity to form relationships with others on their own terms, to commiserate and share gossip with others of low social status, and, depending on how long slaves took while on this errand, to resist the demands of their work by “stealing” time for themselves.²⁴ The quickest way to the fountain at the corner of the Via Stabiana and the Via della Fortuna passed an open area at the north end of the Vicolo del Lupanare forming a small “piazza” of sorts (see Fig. 63). Drawing on Joshel and Petersen’s work, I suggest that prostitutes could linger and socialize here, perhaps even gathering

in the food establishment opening onto the southern end of this small open space (VII.12.15).²⁵ Based on the cluster of graffiti in this piazza, including electoral programmata and advertisements for gladiatorial spectacles among other graffiti, James L. Franklin Jr. took this area as a social hub for the neighborhood.²⁶

A third nearby fountain – to the west, where the Vicolo della Maschera widens at its intersection with the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile (see Fig. 63) – might offer similar opportunities for agency, though (for better or for worse) its location had much less through-traffic and visibility.²⁷ This fountain is closer to doorway 19 of the brothel, and we might imagine that if, for whatever reason, the water errand needed to be quick or less visible, this fountain might be preferred. It may be that the prostitutes (or other staff) went to these different fountains based on time of day, or season, or other factors that remain elusive to us.

I further suggest that emotional labor was both an expectation of and possible means for advancement for the brothel's prostitutes. The ability to make oneself emotionally pleasing to clients is a feature of prostitution in other time periods and cultures as well.²⁸

This emotional labor can best be seen in statements that use second-person forms to praise clients for their sexual prowess (a type of statement briefly discussed in Chapter 6). For example, a client named Sollemnes [= Sollemnis?] was praised twice in similar graffiti above the masonry platform in room f: *S[ol]lemnes | b[e]ne futues*, “S[ol]lemnes, you fock w[e]ll” (CIL 4.2185; for its location, see Fig. 29; see also CIL 4.2186). A handful of other graffiti in room f use this same formula with different male names (Felix, Vitalio, and December),²⁹ while a certain Syneros was praised (in Greek!) above the platform of room e (CIL 4.2253; Fig. 33).³⁰ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Victor is hailed twice in room d, and probably a third time in room f, with the following combination of praise and well-wishing: *Victor | valea qui bene | futues*, “Victor, may you fare well who focks well!” (CIL 4.2260 Add. p. 216; see also CIL 4.2274 Add. p. 216 and 2218).

These graffiti present themselves as coming from the perspective of someone who would know, and be able to judge, the sexual capacities of clients, and thus the reader is made to think that prostitutes wrote these statements. Whether prostitutes actually *did* write these statements is unknowable, but given the evidence for female literacy and for prostitutes writing graffiti about themselves (see later for both), it is certainly possible. Prostitutes, then, may have been *expected* to write graffiti supporting their clients' claims to masculine sexuality. A similar type of emotional labor is conducted by prostitutes in twenty-first century Vietnam, where female sex workers are expected talk up the masculinity of their clients in front of other prostitutes' clients.³¹ Even if

these graffiti were written by clients instead of prostitutes, prostitutes' *voices* were coopted for the authority they provided to claims of male sexual prowess.

Another form of emotional labor may have been to entertain clients as they were drinking in the structure. As I argued in [Chapter 6](#), clients of all statuses were probably offered a drinking experience that allowed them to feel like free men and that may have evoked the leisured drinking with courtesans that is a common trope of Greco-Roman literature. Conversing with clients or engaging in witty banter would require more of a prostitute's time, and while these conversations are lost to us, literary representations help us imagine how affective labor may have been involved.

For example, when Ehippus in *Merchandise* describes his experience with courtesans, he notes, "then, if one of us happens to be unhappy | when he goes into [the courtesan's] house, she's sweet and flattering | . . . and coaxes him and | makes him cheerful, and in a flash she makes whatever's | upsetting him disappear, and puts him in a good mood."³² In other cases, courtesans are represented helping clients with their love lives,³³ and in one poignant example, soothing the body and ego of a client who arrives with prominent welts on his back from being whipped in public.³⁴ Many of these same types of emotional labor – offering a respite from loneliness, giving advice, and healing emotional wounds – are still conducted by (at least some) prostitutes in the modern United States, as writer/activist/sex-worker Annie Sprinkle reminds us.³⁵

In the purpose-built brothel, then, prostitutes may have been expected to stroke clients' egos and performatively show interest in their lives as part of the leisured experience offered to clients. These forms of emotional labor served to mask the fact that power and coercion were the foundations of these transactions (regardless of whether the prostitutes were slaves or poor free individuals). As Mira Green astutely comments on how slave owners imagined their sexual relationships with their own slaves, "they wanted to imagine that slaves were willing participants in these relationships."³⁶ In the brothel, clients wanted to imagine that the prostitutes were willing and interested parties.

We may also interpret these graffiti through the lens of what C. W. Marshall calls "the pragmatic language of a survivor." Marshall, in teasing out how a Greco-Roman audience might interpret the "reciprocal language" of love between men and sex slaves in New Comedy, turns to graffiti suggestive of "romance" ("I love you," "I love you | you love me") in a twenty-first-century child-brothel in Cambodia.³⁷ Marshall asks of these graffiti, "Is this a script for the children, provided by their pimps in the language spoken by many of the customers . . .? Is it a transcript of what the slaves hear, as sex tourists from around the globe pay to rape them? Or is it, rather, a mark of the adaptive response of women desperate for survival in unimaginable

conditions?”³⁸ Perhaps we ought to ask likewise if some of the purpose-built brothel’s graffiti provide traces of prostitutes desperate to survive.

Indeed, there may have been occasions on which the prostitutes used their emotional labor for their own benefit, to help them survive and better their circumstances.³⁹ They may have convinced clients to give them gifts (the perfume/cosmetics vial found in the structure, for example; see [Chapters 2 and 6](#)),⁴⁰ to leave them money in wills, or even raise them out of poverty or prostitution.⁴¹

The greetings between prostitutes and clients (discussed in [Chapters 3 and 6](#)) may have been reflections of, or attempts to create, longer-term emotional relationships that could benefit the prostitutes. This is best seen in *Ias Magno salute*, “Ias [sends] greeting to Magnus” (*CIL* 4.2231 Add. p. 215), which as mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), overshadows all the other graffiti on the east wall of room f with its massive size (well over a meter long). Ias seems to have cemented her tie to Magnus with another large graffito on the opposite (west) wall, *Iias cum Ma|gno ubique*, “Iias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere” (*CIL* 4.2174; see [Fig. 29](#) for its location). Other possible greetings from prostitutes are unfortunately fragmentary or ambiguous, as in the partially preserved graffito from the east wall of room f that reads *Mo[phallus]a | s[-]l*, “Mo[]a [sends] gr[ee]t(ings)” (*CIL* 4.2237 Add. p. 215), or the greeting written on the north wall of room f to a recipient of ambiguous gender: *Callidrome va(le)*, “Callidromus, hey!” (*CIL* 4.2206 Add. p. 215). Following the scholarly majority, I take the name as Callidromus (rather than Callidrome, a female name),⁴² and thus interpret the graffito as a possible greeting to a male client. Greetings to prostitutes, on the other hand – discussed in [Chapter 6](#) – may indicate that certain prostitutes were successful at creating longer-term relationships with their clients.

Literary and legal texts confirm that prostitutes and clients could have long-term interactions that extended beyond the confines of sex. For example, a declamation attributed to Quintilian discusses the case of a client who has engaged in a lengthy affair with a prostitute (*meretrix*), and even fallen in love with her (but then she allegedly poisons him).⁴³ In fact, recent work on Greek prostitution has found that prostitutes and their clients could have quite intense and long-term relationships – relationships that in the past would have been attributed by scholars only to courtesans, rather than to prostitutes.⁴⁴

That one of the objects recovered during excavation is a cosmetics/perfume vial, which is a common item given by clients to prostitutes in literature (see [Chapters 2 and 6](#)), may further indicate that the brothel’s prostitutes were successful in forging bonds with their clients. While perfume or cosmetics as a gift might seem fairly insignificant, a prostitute might hope that connections with clients could eventually lift her out of servitude or prostitution.⁴⁵ These are the ultimate goals of literary prostitutes, to be sure, and scholars agree that

freedom from slavery must have been the ultimate goal of all slaves.⁴⁶ Given the physical dangers of being a prostitute and the economic precariousness it most likely involved, prostitutes in the purpose-built brothel probably would have used any means possible to try to better their situation.⁴⁷

PERFORMING PERSONAS

We have already seen how prostitutes in the brothel performed emotional labor, likely out of obligation or out of a hope to better their conditions. There may have been additional ways in which the prostitutes were expected to “put on performances” for their clients, an expectation perhaps reflected in the strong connection between prostitutes and performers in the Roman imaginary.⁴⁸ Prostitutes and actresses were assimilated in Roman legal codes and saddled with the same legal restrictions,⁴⁹ and as Catharine Edwards has argued, this conflation reflects Roman views that both of these professions involved sexual license and dissembling for the pleasure of others in exchange for money.⁵⁰

One example of this conflation can be seen in the fact that many prostitutes were called by stage names. Indeed, in the first century BCE, the Latin poet Horace claimed that one of the advantages of sex with a prostitute was that “I give her whatever name I please”; Green notes that this would allow the narrator “to fulfill any fantasy he might have.”⁵¹ Athenaeus’s *Deipnosophists* presents a veritable treasure trove of prostitute stage names or nicknames, some of which refer to physical attributes (e.g., “small-fry” [586b] or “false-front” [587b]), others to behaviors, such as the woman poignantly known as “laughing through her tears” (591c), or another known just as “drunk” (583e).⁵²

In the purpose-built brothel, potential stage names – some mentioned in passing in [Chapter 3](#) – include “All” (Panta, *CIL* 4.2178b),⁵³ “Hope” (Helpis, *CIL* 4.2189), “Happy” (Felicla [= Felicula], *CIL* 4.2199, 2200 Add. p. 215), “Grindstone” (Mola, *CIL* 4.2204, 2237 Add. p. 215), “Victory” (Victoria, *CIL* 4.2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228), and “Fortunate” (Fortuna/ata, *CIL* 4.2224, 2259, 2266, 2275).⁵⁴ These names were probably given to the prostitutes by a master, pimp, or madam, though some prostitutes may have chosen these monikers themselves. Some names may not have been intended specifically as stage names – many are common names for female slaves⁵⁵ – though they may have been interpreted as such by those in the brothel regardless.

In these names, we see the fiction of emotional well-being and good luck (“Happy,” “Hope,” and “Fortunate”), which seems ironic and even cruel considering how *unlucky* and *unfortunate* the prostitutes must have been. We might imagine that clients expected Felicula to always be happy, Helpis to seem ever hopeful, and Fortuna/ata to always act like someone blessed with

good fortune, regardless of their actual feelings.⁵⁶ We also see the presentation of sexual agency in the names “All,” “Grindstone,” and “Victory.” The fact that Mola’s name has been misspelled as Mula, “Mule,” in a graffito that presents her as a sexual object (*futui Mula · hic*, “I fucked Mula [or: a “mule”] here,” *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215) may suggest that a client wanted to negate the agency implied by “Grindstone.”⁵⁷

A graffito from the west wall of room f, *Restituta · bellis moribus*, “Restituta with charming ways” (*CIL* 4.2202 Add. p. 465),⁵⁸ offers further opportunities for performing personas. The language of “charming ways” appears in other contexts thought to be related to prostitution, too.⁵⁹ This persona (which may not have been restricted just to Restituta) might have manifested itself in the prostitutes’ viewership of the structure’s erotic frescoes. The viewership of erotic material, despite (or because of) its ubiquity, was occasionally thought of as problematic for certain types of viewers – especially impressionable, vulnerable girls.⁶⁰ A girl with “charming ways” might shield her eyes when confronted with such imagery, as the first-century CE Roman poet Martial suggests when he mentions in passing a statue of the deity Priapus “which a good girl [*proba virgo*] eyes behind her hand” (3.68.10).⁶¹ The hand gesture both protects the “good girl” from the danger of her eyes being violated by the image of Priapus’s enormous erect phallus, while also communicating her modesty to others.⁶²

While few prostitutes in the brothel would have been true *probae virgines* – exceptions might be girls offered for sale for the first time – there was nothing to stop women like Restituta from reacting to the frescoes like “good girls” or with “charming ways,” perhaps by affecting modesty in the presence of the frescoes. On a practical level, this type of performative reaction to the erotic art may have appealed to clients who wanted to imagine having sex with a “good girl.”

The individuality and real feelings of prostitutes were thus less important than the persona they projected for clients. At the same time, these personas may have offered prostitutes opportunities to express sexual agency, and on the level of individual subjectivity, to temporarily transgress their status and embody a different social identity (such as “good girls”).⁶³

The next several sections explore additional ways in which the prostitutes could exercise agency even within the constraints and expectations detailed above.

CLAIMING SUBJECTIVITY

One of the most productive avenues for exploring the subjectivity and agency of the brothel’s prostitutes is to ask how they represented themselves in the structure’s graffiti.⁶⁴ It is worth repeating that we never definitively know who

has written a particular graffito. However, evidence from all over the Roman empire suggests that a larger number of women than previously thought – including women at both the low and high end of the social spectrum – could write, even if that meant only being able to writing their name.⁶⁵ Not only do the letters of Cornelia (late second century BCE) and the elegies of the Augustan poet Sulpicia survive, but so do the names of nearly one hundred other female writers of Greek and Latin, including women in such occupations as midwives and prostitutes.⁶⁶ In fact, funerary inscriptions comment upon the intellects not just of elite women but also freedwomen and girls, and we know that slaves with certain responsibilities, such as midwifery or running the master's business, were expected to be literate.⁶⁷ The Vindolanda tablets – a series of documents written on thin wooden tablets found at the Roman fort of Vindolanda in Britain – contain letters written to and from women around the turn of the first century CE, including some women thought to be of low social status.⁶⁸ More significant for our purposes, fictional depictions of prostitutes sometimes portray them as literate (in Plautus's early second-century BCE *Pseudolus*, for example, and some of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*),⁶⁹ a scenario that we assume would need to be plausible for the literary text to be successful. Moreover, at Pompeii, scholars have argued for female authors of a number of graffiti, ranging from a bar advertisement, to greetings written inside a house, to a flute player angry at her loss in a musical competition, to a lover's plea made by one woman to another, to a record of loan made by a female lender.⁷⁰

I have stressed the evidence for (at least limited degrees of) female literacy so that we remain open to taking prostitutes as potential authors of graffiti in the brothel. An important feature of Pompeian graffiti that bears on determining authorship is that graffiti writers at Pompeii rarely use first-person verb forms, even in self-conscious statements of authorship like *scribit Narcissus*, "Narcissus writes [this]" (*CIL* 4.1841). Thus, scholars usually take the subject of third-person statements, like Narcissus above, as the author. In the brothel's graffiti, then, we should pay particular attention to graffiti with a female subject and a third-person verb, as these are potentially authored by the named women.

When we examine the brothel's graffiti with female authorship in mind, I argue we can see the brothel's prostitutes proclaiming their sexual agency (which can, in turn, be used ideologically by clients to boost their own communal, normative masculinity, as mentioned in [Chapter 6](#)). This agency is perhaps clearest in statements concerning the act of fellatio, such as *Fortunata fellat*, "Fortunata sucks" (*CIL* 4.2275), from the east wall of room d, and *[---] nice fellat*, "[Bero?]nice sucks" (*CIL* 4.2278), from the south wall of the same room.⁷¹ The agency of these women is made clear by the use of active forms of the verb *fellare*, "to suck," rather than passive forms of the verb *irrumare*,



64. Detail of graffito (*CIL* 4.2204; Μόλα · φουτοῦτρης, “Mola the fucktress”), west wall of room f. The graffito stretches across the lower half of the photograph. A large portion of the graffito of a ship can be seen in the upper half of the photograph, and the final word of *CIL* 4.2202 Add. p. 465 (*Restituta · bellis moribus*, “Restituta with charming ways”) can be seen toward the top left. Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

“to mouth-fuck”: while the former calls attention to the subjectivity and activity of the named female practitioners, forms of the latter highlight violent male sexual agency, eliding practitioners or turning them into passive sexual objects, as in a fragmentary graffito from room d, *irrumo*, “I face-fuck” (*CIL* 4.2277; see also pp. 104, 132).⁷²

Sexual agency in fellatio is further highlighted in one of the brothel’s graffiti by combining the root of the verb *fellare* with the female-agent ending *-trix*, forming the title *fellatrix*, “sucktress.” This title was used in a graffito from the back of the brothel’s hallway proclaiming *Murtis · felatris*, “Murtis the suktress” (*CIL* 4.2292). In this case, the inscribed point between the two words – a common feature of monumental, public stone-cut inscriptions – might have added a sense of authority to Murtis’s title.⁷³

In other examples from the brothel, female prostitutes were represented as agents in genital-to-genital sex. The boldest of these statements takes up close to a meter of the west wall of room f (Fig. 64; see also Fig. 31): Μόλα · φουτοῦτρης, “Mola the fucktress” (*CIL* 4.2204). The Latin word *fututrix*, transliterated into Greek letters as φουτοῦτρης in this graffito, appears only three other times in Roman literature and epigraphy. Martial uses it twice as an adjective modifying feminine nouns (*manus*, “hand,” in one case, and *lingua*, “tongue,” in the other), and it is used as a woman’s title, as in the brothel’s example, in a graffito from the peristyle of the House of the Silver Wedding (V.2.i).⁷⁴ Perhaps because of its rarity, scholars have struggled to understand the

exact implications of the term, which combines the female-agent ending *-trix* (seen in *fellatrix*, earlier) with the root of the verb *futuere*, “to fuck.” The traditional approaches held that Mola, to be an agent in *fututio*, “fucking,” must have penetrated clients; or that Mola, as a penetrated woman, could not have been an agent in *fututio* at all.⁷⁵ The logic behind these two scenarios is that for the Romans, sexual agency corresponded exclusively with sexual penetration, a view that most scholars subscribed to until recently.⁷⁶ However, Deborah Kamen and I have shown that the Romans could and did think of some penetrated individuals as agents, whether in their desire for sex, their performing a sexual act, or their moving their body during sex.⁷⁷ Mola, in calling herself a *fututrix* (if we take her as the most likely author of the graffito), was proclaiming her sexual agency.

This bold proclamation of agency might have provoked strong reactions from others in the brothel. For example, in one graffito from the same wall (mentioned above), someone wrote *futui Mula · hic*, “I fucked Mula [= Mola] here” (*CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215), and in a graffito from the opposite (east) wall of the same room, Mola’s name is penetrated by a drawn phallus (*CIL* 4.2237 Add. p. 215).⁷⁸ Perhaps these other graffiti were meant to negate Mola’s sexual agency and to reaffirm her status as only a sexual object, not a sexual subject.

If we apply the standard criteria for determining authorship (as discussed earlier) to these graffiti, Fortunata, [Bero]nice, Murtis, and Mola are the most likely authors of the statements about them. Even if only *some* of the named women wrote these graffiti, we see prostitutes representing and even memorializing themselves as sexual subjects and agents, despite attempts by others to reduce them to sexual objects, and despite having little control over their sexual labor. Moreover, this agency represents a marked departure from how prostitutes were constructed in elite literary texts. As Rebecca Flemming notes concerning the latter, “This was, then, a sex industry, but one in which the women were considered (and, through slavery, concretely constituted) more as products than producers, more as wares than workers; they were approved only as sexual objects for men, not as themselves, as women, and certainly not as sexual subjects.”⁷⁹

The potentially profound implications of these graffiti are underscored by another graffito, carefully written and centered under the window of the east wall of room f, which differs from those discussed so far by highlighting subjectivity but *not* sexual agency: *fututa sum hic*, “I [a woman] was fucked here” (*CIL* 4.2217; Fig. 65). As with any graffito, we can never definitively know who wrote the statement on the wall and what their reasons were; however, with its feminine participle (*fututa*) and rare first-person verb form, this graffito presents the voice, if not also the authorship, of a penetrated woman.⁸⁰ If this statement were actually written by one of the brothel’s female prostitutes, we might be witnessing an unknown prostitute simultaneously



65. Detail of graffiti, east wall of room f. *CIL* 4.2217 (*futura sum hic*, “I [a woman] was fucked here”) is centered directly below the slanting window sill. Below are the graffiti *CIL* 4.2213 (*contiguere*, “They [all] fell silent”) to the left and *CIL* 4.2225 (*vera · Victoria*, “true Victoria”) to the right. At the left of the photograph, at the same height as *CIL* 4.2217, is *CIL* 4.2210 (*pedicare volo*, “I want to ass-fuck”). In the bottom half of the photograph are several of the tall, lightly inscribed letters of *CIL* 4.2231 Add. p. 215 (*Ias Magno salute*, “Ias [sends] greeting to Magnus”). Photograph by author, su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza speciale per i Beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

reinscribing her marginalization by flaunting her passive and penetrated (and therefore disparaged) status, while at the same time, reclaiming these terms to call into being her own subjectivity.⁸¹

A last set of examples shows yet another way that prostitutes could resist or reframe their sexual objectification using graffiti, with varied responses from others in the structure. As mentioned in [Chapter 3](#), a series of graffiti on the east wall of room f concerns a woman by the name of Victoria.⁸² Her name appears twice in isolation (*CIL* 4.2221, 2227), while in another graffiti, she is referred to as *vera · Victoria*, “true Victoria” (*CIL* 4.2225).⁸³ Most significant for our purposes, a pair of graffiti play with the sexual associations of her name, as amorous activity was often referred to metaphorically with the language of the battlefield.⁸⁴ In one of these graffiti, *Victoria invicta hic*, “Victoria the unconquerable here” (*CIL* 4.2226), the implication seems to be that Victoria remains “unconquered” despite (presumably) being a prostitute whom people pay to penetrate.⁸⁵ On the one hand, this proclamation of Victoria’s

subjectivity seems to have been better received than the graffiti concerning Mola's agency: a greeting on the same wall records *victrix Victoria va(le)*, "conqueress Victoria, hey!" (*CIL* 4.2212 Add. p. 215), acknowledging and reaffirming (how sincerely, we do not know) the representation of Victoria in the other graffito. On the other hand, a final graffito about Victoria reminds clients that they themselves could conquer this "unconquered conqueress" for a moderate price: *Victorie · a(ssibus) · V*, "Victorie [= Victoria] [for] 5 *a(sses)*" (*CIL* 4.2228).⁸⁶

As scholars of prostitution in other time periods have shown, investigating how prostitutes describe themselves is essential to fully understanding prostitution and can serve as a remedy to (often negative) conventional discourses.⁸⁷ In the modern United States, for example, some prostitutes highlight their role as skilled workers with titles such as "industrial sex technician."⁸⁸ In Pompeii's purpose-built brothel, prostitutes proclaimed themselves as sexual agents, presented themselves as "unconquered," and even reclaimed some of the very terms by which society disparaged them, such as *fututa*, "fucked."⁸⁹

We can further understand the relationship between Roman society's marginalization of the prostitutes (for the very activities that were demanded of them!) and the prostitutes' written proclamations about themselves by turning to modern theories on subjection and subjectivity.⁹⁰ Judith Butler, for example, notes that "subjection consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency."⁹¹ Moreover, she argues that the type of power that turns individuals into subjects can be transformed once in the hands of these new subjects: "the [subject's] act of appropriation may involve an alteration of power such that the power assumed or appropriated works against the power that made the assumption possible."⁹² In other words, Roman discourses that subordinated and subjugated the brothel's prostitutes also, unintentionally, gave the prostitutes tools for proclaiming themselves as subjects and agents.

REFRAMING CLIENTS AS OBJECTS

In addition to proclaiming themselves as subjects in graffiti they wrote in the structure, prostitutes had several means by which they could turn clients into various types of objects: objects of visual scrutiny, objects of derision, and even sexual objects.

As a reminder, male clients were offered a privileged visual axis when they entered the brothel from doorway 18 (see [Chapters 1](#) and [6](#)). However, their visual power was not absolute. First, prostitutes had opportunities to evade the gaze of male clients. For example, the view from doorway 18 into the rooms themselves is quite constrained (except for room d), even supposing that there were no doors or curtains. If there *were* doors or curtains, this could offer partial

or total privacy to those in the rooms. Prostitutes could retreat into these spaces, or to the toilet at the rear of the structure, or to the secondary hallway leading to doorway 19, and thus deny clients visual power over their bodies (temporarily, at least).⁹³ In the process, they could refuse to serve as objects of their clients' sexualized gaze.

There was also the potential for prostitutes to turn clients into objects of their scrutiny. The brothel's main hallway, since it is permeable from so many other spaces (i.e., from the rooms and from the outside), qualifies under Mark Grahame's definition as an "open space" (in contrast to a "closed space"). "In an open space," Grahame argues, "the probability that an encounter [with other people] will occur is increased, because in such space one is more visible to others. In short, it involves *disclosure* of the body."⁹⁴ A client entering through doorway 18 would be immediately visible to anyone in the hallway or doorways – he would even be visually framed by the doorway (see Fig. 8) – and thus a potential object of prostitutes' vision. This visual power over male clients may have been accentuated by clients' momentary disorientation as their eyes adjusted to the lighting inside the brothel. The architecture of the brothel's main hallway, then, while it offered clients visual power and potential dominance over the bodies of female and male prostitutes (see p. 100), also put clients on display for these very same individuals (and, presumably, other male clients in the structure).

Moreover, as Grahame reminds us, "in more public places [i.e., "open" spaces], the norms of society hold sway and the presence of others provides a powerful incentive to conform to the accepted modes of practice . . . Enforcing conformity to these norms depends upon surveillance."⁹⁵ The brothel's hallway thus may have been a locus where clients' performances of masculinity were watched and judged. That the brothel's decorative scheme featured only the most normative of sexual acts – no oral sex and no homoerotic sex – and relatively tame variations of poses (see Chapter 4) perhaps made clients' performances of masculinity less fraught than it otherwise might have been. Nevertheless, as discussed in the [previous chapter](#), along with the opportunity to perform masculinity the clients also faced the obligation to do so in a normative fashion.

Rumors and gossip about clients could be a powerful avenue of resistance and retaliation for the brothel's prostitutes. Not only were Romans very curious about what people did within the walls of brothels – for example, an epigram of Martial (11.45) mocks a client for his fear of being observed while in a brothel, suggesting that he must be partaking in deviant sexual practices – but lower-status individuals (such as slaves) were known for wielding gossip (including rumors of non-normative sexual behavior) against their social betters.⁹⁶ In one of Juvenal's *Satires* (late first to early second century CE), for example, the interlocutor Naevolus worries that he has revealed too much

(about serving the sexual needs of his patron) to the narrator; the narrator counters that rumors will always exist, claiming that for household slaves in particular, “rumours are their revenge for getting belted” (9.111–112).⁹⁷ In the brothel, prostitutes could turn clients into objects of their scrutiny; if a client’s behavior fell short in any way, prostitutes could spread malignant gossip.

Prostitutes could also reframe clients’ boasts in defamatory ways. This may be the case with the human profile drawn around the boast *futui*, “I fucked” (CIL 4.2191), on the west wall of room f (Fig. 22; see also pp. 60, 103). The profile must have been inscribed after the text, since it makes use of the “i” of *futui*;⁹⁸ more interestingly, the appearance and location of *futui* within the profile would have had specific cultural resonances. Permanent marks – especially words – on foreheads (as here) were associated with slaves, since some slaves were tattooed or branded on their foreheads to indicate their status as possessions or to punish them.⁹⁹ Moreover, the word *futui* resembles some of the words used in these marks, such as *fugi*, “I have fled,” or *fur*, “thief.”¹⁰⁰ As Kamen argues, these slave markings are often referred to in terms explicitly invoking inscriptions¹⁰¹; the inscribed portrait in the brothel makes literal the metaphor of “inscribing” the foreheads of slaves with their servile narratives or crimes.

Though the intentions behind the text and profile cannot be recovered, we can posit some of the ways in which it may have been interpreted. Forehead tattoos and brands were depicted as shameful, to the extent that Augustan legislation restricted the rights of freed slaves who bore the marks of their slavery.¹⁰² Thus, the inscribed profile might have served to mock the servility of a client; the lack of a name or other identifying features (save the profile) meant that it could refer to a multitude of different individuals.¹⁰³

Prostitutes could also read aloud (or even rearticulate someone else’s reading of) already existing graffiti that presented clients in a poor light.¹⁰⁴ In voicing the hallway’s *Froto Plani | lingit cun | num*, “Froto [= Fronto], slave of Planus, licks cunt” (CIL 4.2257), for example, prostitutes could effectively impugn Fronto’s status as a normative male, highlighting instead his status as both polluted and potentially penetrated.¹⁰⁵ A more potent opportunity for agency, and for turning clients into not just objects of derision but also sexual objects, would come from articulating *ratio mi cum ponis | Batacare te pidicaro*, “When you hand over the money, Batacarus, I’ll ass-fuck you” (CIL 4.2254) from the south wall of room e. In addition to defaming Batacarus with the insinuation that he wanted to be penetrated badly enough to pay for it, the graffiti transforms Batacarus into a grammatical (*te*) and sexual object and threatens him with the violence of penetration. If voiced by a female prostitute, Batacarus might have been doubly humiliated by a slave or low-status woman, whose body was sold for the penetrative pleasure of others, turning him into an object of penetration.

In reading aloud defamatory graffiti against clients – calling attention to their status as polluted or penetrated – prostitutes could reframe clients as sexually subjected objects. When combined with surveilling clients and spreading rumors about their behavior, as well as usurping clients' written boasts to turn them into objects of derision, prostitutes were able, in some ways, to enact resistance.

AMONG THEMSELVES

So far, this chapter has overwhelmingly been concerned with interactions between prostitutes and their clients. Yet presumably there were occasions on which clients were absent – perhaps certain times of the day, or when business was slow. Prostitutes could have put this time apart from clients to multiple uses, from policing each other's behavior and appearance, to engaging in humanizing interactions with each other and practicing self-care.¹⁰⁶

If Roman women were accustomed to objectifying themselves in order to make themselves visually appealing to men – as most famously articulated by the poet Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* (early first century CE) – how much more so for women whose livelihood depended on attracting sexual attention from male clients.¹⁰⁷ Ovid's advice to female readers includes such “auto-didacticism” (as Molly Myerowitz describes it) as: “A woman with a pretty face should lie on her back, | women with nice backs should be seen from behind | . . . | If her thighs are useful and her breasts perfect, | have the man stand, let her sprawl aslant on the bed.”¹⁰⁸ Myerowitz comments, “the female here is encouraged to look upon her body as *materia*, the raw material for the operation of art.”¹⁰⁹

In the case of prostitutes, literary representations focus less on auto-didacticism and more on prostitutes shaping and judging each other's appearances. For example, in one passage preserved in Athenaeus, older courtesans are presented as using forceful means to achieve certain physical and even behavioral or emotional traits in younger courtesans:

She's got an attractive feature; it's put on display naked. She's got nice teeth; she has to laugh, whether she wants to or not, so everyone there can see what a pretty mouth she has. And if she doesn't like laughing, she'll stay inside all day with a sliver of myrtle wood, like what the butchers always have when they sell goats' heads, they have stuck upright between her lips. So eventually she grins, like it or not. These are the tricks they use to change how they look.¹¹⁰

In Pompeii's brothel, women might have been encouraged *by other prostitutes* to further objectify themselves – to view themselves as malleable, fragmented bodies whose utility lay in how they appeared to others.

On the other hand, in the absence of clients, prostitutes could tend to their own bodily needs and desires. The objects found in the structure ([Chapter 2](#)) help suggest some scenarios. Prostitutes could wash using the bronze shell-shaped basin, or anoint their own or each other's bodies with cosmetics or perfume from the glass vial. They could pour beverages from the glass bottle and drink with each other using colored glass cups. They could tally up the day's business in different sized bronze coins. They could find their way into each other's rooms with the light from the single-nozzle terracotta lamp, and cuddle with each other on the extra-large platform in room f.¹¹¹

If the prostitutes were drinking alcohol among themselves, this might represent a form of self-care in the face of the precariousness, powerlessness, and violence they faced. It could also be a form of resistance, especially if drinking without clients was frowned on or was seen as a misuse of resources. Just as the prostitutes may have lingered and socialized while fetching water at nearby fountains – one of the potential “slave tactics” discussed above – prostitutes may have “stolen” wine for their own use. A literary anecdote in Plutarch (late first to early second century CE) has a master making exactly this complaint against his own slave, and this type of accusation can also be found in Juvenal's *Satires*.¹¹² By reclaiming time for themselves and drinking, prostitutes in the brothel could exercise agency in the face of exploitation.

Moreover, prostitutes could share strategies on how to survive, and no longer on display or performing for clients, prostitutes could use their real names and converse about their personal narratives and their families.¹¹³ In other words, time apart from clients may have been a way for prostitutes to recover their humanity, to validate their connections with their natal families (with whom slaves had no legal connection), and to foster connections with their community of fellow prostitutes in the brothel.¹¹⁴

As we will see in [Chapter 8](#) (on male prostitutes), there are significant overlaps between the experiences of the brothel's male and female staff, especially in terms of how they were exploited and their opportunities for agency. At the same time, the livelihoods of male prostitutes were more precarious in that they aged out of desirability more quickly than women, and male prostitutes were potentially threatening to clients due to their ability to exercise penetrative sexuality.

EIGHT

MALE PROSTITUTES

The presence of male prostitutes in the purpose-built brothel, while acknowledged in passing by some scholars, has not been the focus of extended scholarly attention.¹ This may reflect the difficulty in identifying male prostitutes in the brothel's graffiti (see more later) or a broader imbalance toward female prostitutes in our ancient literary sources (though not as extreme as in modern scholarship),² or may stem from modern heteronormative narratives of prostitution.³ Antonio Varone has conducted the most thorough examination to date, piecing together graffiti in the brothel with graffiti elsewhere at Pompeii to suggest that a handful of male prostitutes worked in the brothel, servicing both male, and, more controversially, female clients.⁴ I remain unconvinced by even our best evidence for female clients at Pompeii, namely, three graffiti that present males as offering cunnilingus for a price;⁵ as Eva Cantarella and Craig Williams have observed, it is impossible to disentangle what might represent actual services that real Pompeian women would have purchased from slander hurled against the named males.⁶ Absent clearer evidence from Pompeii, I assume for the sake of this chapter that the services of male prostitutes were bought by male clients.

As with female prostitutes, male prostitutes were routinely exploited and faced social and legal marginalization. In one of our only literary imaginings of the subjectivity of a male prostitute, from Plautus's *Pseudolus* (early second century BCE), a young male prostitute – a slave of the pimp – fears both painful sexual penetration by clients and the anger and violence of his

pimp/master.⁷ Male prostitutes were also denied nearly all the legal and social privileges that male citizens would be accustomed to, though this may not have affected many male prostitutes in practice if they were slaves.⁸

The purpose-built brothel has much to add about the lives and experiences of male prostitutes. While many of the findings of the [previous chapter](#) hold true for male prostitutes, too (e.g., their primary function was performing sexual labor for paying clients, and they could also fetch water or offer shaves to clients), I focus on the most salient areas of overlap – exploitation and agency – as well as areas of difference. One key difference was that male prostitutes aged out of attractiveness when they reached full adulthood; in the brothel, male prostitutes could prolong their attractiveness through the slow, daily process of shaving their facial hair with the iron-and-bronze razor found in the structure. Male prostitutes were reduced to nameless sexual objects in clients' boasts, and this erasure of individuality and subjectivity was mirrored in the structure's hetero-erotic frescoes. At the same time, the brothel's material evidence suggests that male prostitutes engaged in complex performances of their identities and crafted emotional bonds with clients, perhaps out of obligation and perhaps out of hope that it might better their conditions (cf. pp. 115–118 on the female prostitutes). Finally, unlike female prostitutes, male prostitutes could use their ability to bodily penetrate others to threaten male clients.

AGING OUT

Both the Greeks and Romans thought that male beauty reached its peak during the “bloom” of adolescence, after which that beauty quickly wilted and, with it, (most) interest in males as sexual objects or partners.⁹ As can be seen in numerous literary representations, the transition from youthful desirability to undesirable adulthood was fraught for all parties. The lovers or masters of these youths express anxiety about the loss of their sexual partner/object,¹⁰ while some male slaves hastened this day in order to flee their master's unwanted attention.¹¹

Seneca the Younger (mid-first century CE) and other Roman authors tell us of ways to keep males looking youthful “past their prime”; in Seneca's case, he ranted against the unnatural measures that masters took to continue enjoying young-looking male slaves, from dressing them in women's clothing, to having their body hair plucked out or their legs kept smooth with pumice stones.¹² From other sources we know that beards could be shaved, poultices applied to delay puberty, and in extreme cases, castration would ensure a type of permanent youth.¹³

The brothel's razor may have thus had particularly fraught associations for male prostitutes. It was both a means to extend a male prostitute's

attractiveness and a daily time-consuming reminder of the precariousness of his beauty and livelihood. Moreover, this daily attention to physical appearance may have physically and socially feminized the male prostitutes, as Leslie Shumka reminds us that “to the Roman way of thinking, care and adornment of the physical self were firmly linked with femininity.”¹⁴

A male prostitute must have been aware that his attractiveness, and his ability to entice paying customers, was in jeopardy once he needed to use a razor. In this way, the brothel’s male prostitutes were in a more vulnerable and precarious situation than the brothel’s female prostitutes.

SEXUAL OBJECTS

While there are only a few graffiti in the brothel that specifically evoke male prostitutes as sexual partners, the nature of Roman sexual vocabulary – as well as Roman norms for masculinity – meant that male prostitutes could be imagined as the potential objects of many of the sexual boasts written in the structure. However, while at least *some* of the clients’ boasts mention female prostitutes by name (for better or worse), none mentions a male prostitute by name.¹⁵ Male prostitutes thus remained shadow figures in sexual boasts, serving as nameless, anonymous sexual objects.

Some graffiti clearly evoke male prostitutes as sexual partners, as in a graffito (mentioned in [Chapter 6](#)) over the platform in room d: *Placidus hic futuit quem voluit*, “Placidus fucks here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2265). The relative pronoun *quem* refers to males, or at least mixed groups of males and females.¹⁶ A similar use of masculine pronouns can be found in two other graffiti. One, from above the platform in room f (and briefly discussed in [Chapters 3](#) and [6](#)), proclaims *Scordopordonicus hic · bene | fuit · quem · voluit*, “Scordopordonicus fucks well here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2188). The other, from high on the north wall of room e (also mentioned in [Chapters 3](#) and [6](#)), asserts *Bellicus hic · futuit quendam*, “Bellicus fucks here a certain one” (*CIL* 4.2247 Add. p. 215).¹⁷ The use of masculine pronouns gains significance when one considers that clients could have written feminine pronouns if they wished, or done as the writer of a graffito high on the wall above Scordopordonicus’s boast did: *hic ego puellas multas | futui*, “here I fucked many girls” (*CIL* 4.2175; see further p. 104).

In other graffiti, male prostitutes were probable or plausible partners in the sexual acts mentioned. This is especially true of graffiti involving *pedicatio*, anal penetration, as this act very often had a male object.¹⁸ Thus, readers might imagine male prostitutes as the implied objects of the wish *pedicare volo*, “I want to ass-fuck” (*CIL* 4.2210) from the east wall of room f; Varone even translates this graffito as “I want to bugger a boy,” and de Vos and de Vos take this graffito as evidence of male prostitutes.¹⁹ The boast *Phoebus pedico*, “Phoebus

the ass-fucker” (*CIL* 4.2194 Add. p. 465; see p. 109 for Phoebus) from the west wall of the same room might similarly evoke sexual activity with male prostitutes. Readers could imagine either a male or female prostitute as the object of the fragmentary boast *irrumo*, “I face-fuck” (*CIL* 4.2277), written on the east wall of room d.²⁰ Indeed, perhaps the best-known objects of *irrumatio* from Latin literature – or victims, rather, given *irrumatio*’s association with violence – are male: Furius and Aurelius from Catullus’s poem 16 (first century BCE), on whom Catullus wants to enact vengeance for calling him insufficiently masculine.²¹

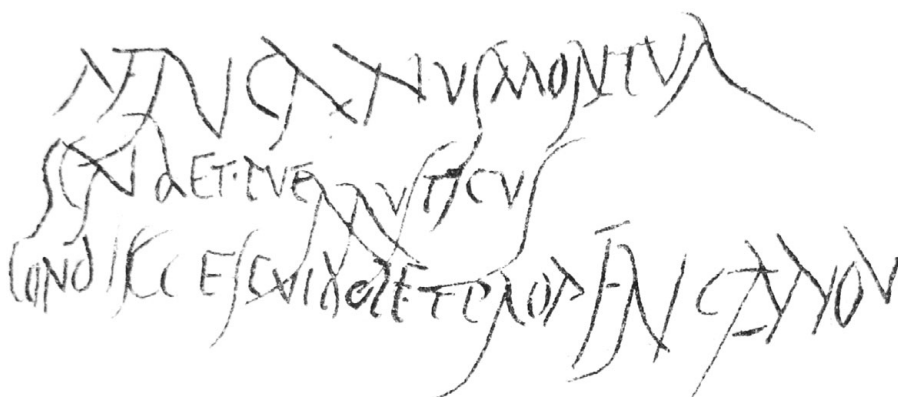
While *futuere* most often refers to vaginal penetration, it could also be used to indicate the sexual penetration of males and was a term for sexual activity in general, too.²² Readers of sexual boasts like *Posphorus | hic · futuit*, “Posphorus [= Phosphorus] fucks here” (*CIL* 4.2241), from the south side of the hallway, and the more than a dozen others like it,²³ may have imagined that some of the unnamed sexual objects of these boasts were male prostitutes. In sum, a few sexual boasts specify male objects through the inclusion of male pronouns in the accusative case; the majority by far, however, leave it up to the reader to insert male prostitutes into clients’ boasts. Male prostitutes therefore remain nearly invisible, despite their clear presence as indicated by other graffiti in the brothel (see pp. 132–139).

This invisibility is mirrored in the brothel’s frescoes. As discussed in [Chapter 4](#), six of the seven extant frescoes in the brothel’s hallway depict a male–female pair (the remaining fresco depicts Priapus, who will be discussed more later). Thus, male prostitutes – the sexual partners of male clients – would not have seen themselves or their relationships represented in the brothel’s decorative scheme. The effect would be to reinforce their marginalization – and with it, perhaps their vulnerability – as well as to promote their conflation with female prostitutes.

SUBJECTS

Despite male prostitutes’ invisibility in the structure’s sexual frescoes and their role as nameless sexual objects in clients’ boasts, male prostitutes nevertheless were able to carve out areas for presenting fuller identities in other ways in the structure.

The fullest representation of a male prostitute can be found in a graffito (introduced in [Chapter 3](#)) from the north wall of room e: *Africanus moritur | scribet · puer Rusticus | condiscis cui dolet pro Africano*, “Africanus is dying. The boy Rusticus writes. You will learn who mourns for Africanus” (*CIL* 4.2258a; see [Fig. 66](#)).²⁴ The term *puer* often indicated a young male object of desire,²⁵ and Varone in fact takes this graffito as evidence for male prostitutes in the structure.²⁶ *Rusticus*, the *puer*’s name (or “name”; male prostitutes, like female



66. Line drawing of a graffito (CIL 4.2258a: *Africanus moritur | scribet · puer Rusticus | condisces cui dolet pro Africano*, “Africanus is dying. The boy Rusticus writes. You will learn who mourns for Africanus”), north wall of room d. Drawing by Zangemeister 1871 plate XXXVII 12.

prostitutes [see pp. 118–119], could also have stage names), evokes boyish sporting in the countryside, as well as a charming naïveté.²⁷ He is, in other words, a common stereotype from Roman culture.²⁸

And yet despite this “rustic” persona, the narrating *puer* claims the act of writing for himself, and more than that, the act of writing in a poetic meter. In this show of erudition, he may conjure another type of *puer*: the sophisticated love-slave from exotic lands.²⁹ The brothel’s *puer* – both rustic and educated – laments the impending death of Africanus, and the reader is left to fill in the rest of the narrative about their relationship. Presumably, the ailing Africanus was a client, though scholars used to assume without evidence that he was the brothel’s manager.³⁰ More importantly, the language of mourning in the graffito evokes not just a sexual but also an affective relationship between the *puer* and Africanus. With its present and future tenses, affective language, and auto(bio)graphical claims, the graffito *reads* as the authentic emotional outpouring of a male prostitute devastated by the loss of his lover/client.³¹ While this graffito – and Roman love poetry – romanticizes the relationship between *pueri* and their lovers (or owners),³² Amy Richlin points out that the reality may have been quite grim: children, both male and female, were routinely used as sexual objects, and slave children were especially at risk.³³

Other graffiti in the brothel might likewise portray relationships (real or fictive) between male prostitutes and clients. For example, *Sabinus Proclo | salutem*, “Sabinus [sends] greetings to Proclus” (CIL 4.2208; see also p. 63), from the north wall of room f, may represent a greeting from a male prostitute to a client (or vice versa). Unfortunately, neither individual appears again in the brothel’s graffiti, leaving us to speculate about the males involved (they could also be two male prostitutes or two clients). The evidence is

clearer in a graffito written on the west wall of room f, which reads *calos Castrensis s(alutem)*, “beautiful Castrensis [sends] gr(eetings)” (*CIL* 4.2180; see also pp. 59, 63). The epithet *calos* has strong associations at Pompeii with individuals at the margins of society – especially prostitutes and actors³⁴ – and thus it seems likely that Castrensis was a male prostitute (his name was also written on the west doorjamb of room b: *CIL* 4.2290).³⁵ His greeting was perhaps meant to forge a connection with any and all clients.

On the one hand, male prostitutes may have been expected to forge emotional bonds with clients and to make this visible in the structure (like the female prostitutes discussed in [Chapter 7](#)). We can see the first-century CE poet Statius praising a similar type of emotional labor in a poem he wrote to console his friend Flavius Ursus on the death of the latter’s beloved slave boy: “With you he was happy or sad; never in his own humor, | He took his countenance from yours.”³⁶ On the other hand, there are indications that these relationships could lead to an improvement in the male prostitutes’ conditions, which, as mentioned above, were *as* precarious as, if not more so than, those of the female prostitutes. Literary texts imply that Roman men sometimes carried on long-lasting relationships with male prostitutes.³⁷ For example, the Augustan historian Livy relates the story of a Roman senator who brought his favorite boy-toy (described as a *scortum*, “whore,” to add moral vitriol to the story) with him while on assignment in Gaul.³⁸ Naevolus in Juvenal’s *Satire* 9 (late first to early second century CE) has a long-standing sexual relationship with his patron, much to his regret, as he reveals to the narrator: he feels that he has not adequately been compensated with money (41–42) or gifts (27–31) for the effort of “ploughing” his patron (45–46) and fathering his patron’s children (70ff.).³⁹

These relationships with clients had the potential to mitigate, to varying extents, the dire circumstances in which male prostitutes sold themselves or were sold. Clients gave gifts not only to female prostitutes but also to male prostitutes and *pueri*. In a poem of Tibullus, an elegiac poet of the late first century BCE, the narrator even curses whoever made “tender boys expect expensive gifts” rather than be content with the poetry that Tibullus can offer.⁴⁰ Even in less refined situations, such as that depicted in the brothel run by Ballio in Plautus’s *Pseudolus*, the young boy prostitute is expected to procure gifts from his clients (albeit for the pimp’s benefit), just like the female prostitutes (767–787). Could then the brothel’s glass vial of perfume or cosmetics have been a gift to a male, rather than female, prostitute?

Other texts suggest that it was within the realm of possibility that the strength of these relationships could bring an individual out of slavery or prostitution. In Plautus’s *The Persian*, the slave boy Paegnium announces his intention to use his sexual obligations to his master to attain freedom, and Trimalchio from Petronius’s *Satyricon* (written in the mid-first century CE and

set in the Bay of Naples) boasts about having earned his freedom in the same way.⁴¹ It should be noted, however, that even this exceptional social mobility out of prostitution or slavery may not have resulted in a cessation of sexual exploitation. Seneca the Elder (late first century BCE to early first century CE) recalls the case of a freedman who was the concubine of his former master, for example.⁴²

Whether clients ever promised gifts or the hope of social mobility to the brothel's male prostitutes is of course unknown. However, the brothel's male prostitutes could hope for such outcomes and could use their sexual and emotional labor to try to tip the scales (and affections of their clients) in their favor.

Another way we can access the subjectivity of the structure's male prostitutes is through analyzing two graffiti written on the west wall of room f. One, discussed above, reads *calos Castrensis s(alutem)*, "beautiful Castrensis [sends] gr(eetings)" (CIL 4.2180), and the other, *calos Paris*, "beautiful Paris" (CIL 4.2179). *Calos* is a transliteration of the Greek word καλός, "beautiful," into Latin characters, and its appearance in these graffiti was immediately suggested by Giuseppe Fiorelli (Inspector of Excavations when the brothel was excavated) to recall the καλός acclamations written on Athenian pottery in the Greek Archaic and Classical periods.⁴³ In general, it was young respectable citizen boys who were hailed as καλός on those vases, since the younger male in Athenian pederastic relationships was valued and wooed for both his physical and moral beauty.⁴⁴

In its usage by Pompeians, the word *calos* retained its associations with physical beauty but lost its connection to respectable male citizens.⁴⁵ Those described as *calos* at Pompeii include a tavern boy, four other likely male prostitutes (in addition to Castrensis and Paris), a handful of actors, and even women.⁴⁶ As Catharine Edwards has shown (as mentioned in [Chapter 7](#)), prostitutes and actors were conceptually (and legally) assimilated for hiring out their bodies for the visual or sexual pleasure of others, often indiscriminately in the public sphere.⁴⁷ Thus, all of the individuals described as *calos* at Pompeii – from actors and prostitutes to the *calos* women and *calos* tavern boy (who would have been assumed to offer sexual services)⁴⁸ – were legitimate objects of the male sexual gaze.

Indeed, male beauty of any kind was potentially problematic in Roman culture, as literary texts confirm. This is especially clear in Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 3.119: "Also, some criticize 'pretty Apollo' [*pulcher Apollo*], the epithet given to Apollo, on the grounds that *exoleti* were called *pulchri* by ancient writers: in Lucilius too in fact Apollo is unwilling to be called pretty."⁴⁹ The *exoleti* of this passage, J. L. Butrica argues, must be beautiful household slaves, used sexually beyond their prime.⁵⁰ No wonder, then, that Apollo would not want to be associated with *exoleti* and their pulchritude! That

physical beauty could be used to impugn a Roman man's character can also be seen in Catullus's poem 79 (mid-first century BCE), where the word *pulcher*, "beautiful," is used to insult a certain "Lesbius" (whom Marilyn Skinner identifies as P. Clodius Pulcher).⁵¹ Since the narrator tells us that no one wants to kiss this Lesbius, the reader is to assume that *pulcher Lesbius* has been doing something sexually impure with his mouth, though scholars differ on the specific sexual activity Catullus invokes.⁵²

In the brothel, Paris and Castrensis define themselves (if we take them as the authors) by their physical appearance – by the dubious distinction of being in the sight of others. However, at the same time as they are sexual objects, they are also sexual subjects who draw others to them; prostitutes (as well as gladiators and actors) were well known for their power over spectators, clients, and lovers.⁵³ The use of the adjective *calos* to describe Paris and Castrensis in the brothel thus called to mind a powerful sexual eroticism that – perhaps because of this very power – was marginalized by Roman society.

Moreover, the name Paris would have evoked multiple resonances for those reading about "beautiful Paris" in the brothel. The original Paris of mythology, of course, was the prince of Troy who stole (in most versions, at least) Helen away from her husband, the Greek King Menelaus. His characterization in the *Iliad* is not always positive, presenting him as soft and decadent;⁵⁴ this representation, plus the view that Greek Asia Minor (where Troy was located) was also decadent, may have thus activated associations of foreign, soft, decadent desirability with the name Paris. Another, much more recent Paris may also have been on the minds of Pompeians. The famous pantomime L. Domitius Paris was a freed slave of Nero's aunt and a favorite of Nero until Nero had him killed in 67 CE.⁵⁵ James L. Franklin Jr. argues that Paris and his troupe performed in Pompeii, and that Paris had fans who left graffiti around the city.⁵⁶ Perhaps the brothel's "beautiful Paris" took on the stage name of the more-famous Paris who died five years before the brothel was re-stuccoed and graffiti began to be written in the space. A similar situation may have been at play in some καλός acclamations of Athenian pottery, in fact. Alan Shapiro notes, "The sheer number of [Greek καλός] inscriptions naming Leagros, together with some hints on the early vases, suggests the possibility that his name eventually transcended this one individual and became a byword for a certain kind of aristocratic playboy: hard-drinking, sexually compulsive, flamboyant, and irresistible to men and women alike."⁵⁷

A final realm might have been open for male prostitutes to represent themselves (or for others to describe them) as subjects. So far in this book, I have taken statements with a male name and an active form of the verb *futuere* as the sexual boasts of male clients (see [Chapter 6](#)). However, recent work challenges the assumption that *futuere* refers only to sexually penetrating someone else. Take the case of the female prostitute Mola, for example,

who is called a φοουτοῦτρίς, “fucktress,” on the west wall of room f (*CIL* 4.2204). Deborah Kamen and I argue that she is an active agent in *fututio* – indicated by the female agentive ending *-trix* – despite being penetrated by others (see also pp. 121–122).⁵⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 7, we argue that Romans could conceptualize sexual agency as including not only sexual penetration (as past scholarly models of Roman sexuality had it), but also moving one’s body during sex, performing a (non-penetrating) sexual act (e.g., fellatio), and desiring sex.⁵⁹

With this broader idea of *futuere* and sexual agency in mind, could some of the statements with male names and the verb *futuere* represent male prostitutes – who were most likely penetrated by their clients – as sexual agents?⁶⁰ The following must remain speculative, as there are no clear criteria for conducting such a reevaluation,⁶¹ but the process nevertheless opens up important interpretive possibilities.

One candidate for reinterpretation along these lines is a carefully written statement centered above the masonry platform in room e: Συνέρως | καλός · βινεῖς, “Syneros, you fuck good” (*CIL* 4.2253; see Fig. 33). I have translated the καλός of the graffito as a misspelling of the adverb καλῶς, “good,” based on the ubiquity of the formula name–adverb–verb in the brothel’s graffiti.⁶² However, καλός as *written* is the adjective “beautiful,” discussed above with regard to Paris and Castrensis, leading to a possible translation of “beautiful Syneros, you fuck.” Readers may have assumed that Syneros was a male prostitute, then, regardless of whether the original writer intended the adverb καλῶς or the adjective καλός.

In addition, this graffito is paired with an equally careful rendition of the name in Latin next to it (*Syneros*, *CIL* 4.2252), and these are the only two mentions of Syneros in the structure.⁶³ Moreover, the name Syneros is evocative of eroticism and thus might suggest a stage name.⁶⁴ Could these graffiti show Syneros claiming his sexual agency, or be an advertisement written from the perspective of a satisfied client?

Extending this thought experiment, could Victor, the subject of several graffiti wishing him well and praising him for sexual prowess – e.g., *Victor | valea qui bene | futues*, “Victor, may you fare well who focks well!” (*CIL* 4.2260 Add. p. 216) – be a prostitute like the oft-mentioned Victoria from the east wall of room f?⁶⁵ Is the male named “Happy” in *Felix | bene futuis*, “Felix, you fuck well” (*CIL* 4.2176), a client or a prostitute like his name-mate Felic[u]la (in *CIL* 4.2199 and 2200 Add. p. 215)?⁶⁶

There is, alas, no way to know for sure who wrote any of these graffiti and the reason(s) why. Those in the brothel, however, might have faced a similar lack of knowledge about the graffiti (unless the named individuals were present), and thus may have entertained a range of possible meanings, or individuals may have interpreted statements according to their own

experiences. Despite this lack of certainty, we are confronted with the possibility that the voices of male prostitutes can still be heard two thousand years later, and that these individuals represented themselves as sexual agents, despite being forced to use that agency for the sexual pleasure of those who paid the right price.

Even if we doubt that male prostitutes wrote the statements above, there were still opportunities for male prostitutes to (at least temporarily) claim sexual agency, namely, through voicing aloud sexual boasts that were already written on the brothel's wall.⁶⁷ By articulating first-person statements like *futui*, "I fucked" (*CIL* 4.2191), from the west wall of room f, or *pedicare volo*, "I want to ass-fuck" (*CIL* 4.2210), from the east wall of the same room, or even *irrumo*, "I face-fuck" (*CIL* 4.2277), from room d, male prostitutes could proclaim – perhaps only to themselves, perhaps to their fellow prostitutes, perhaps even to some clients – their role as sexual subjects, perhaps even implying that clients were their sexual objects. Peter Keegan suggests a similar role for graffiti such as *[li]bente(r) pedicans*, "cheerfully ass-fucking" (*Graf. Pal.* 1.364), in the possible Imperial paedagogium (second to early third century CE) on the Palatine: "the function of these graffiti may have been as an outlet for humour in the face of a humiliating but unavoidable reality of life as a young male slave in the *domus Caesaris* [imperial household], or perhaps to direct abuse at a particular individual or the community of slaves more generally as a means of dealing with actual or threatened pedication."⁶⁸ He adds that graffiti allowed these slaves "to assert their active status" and "to depict their sexual categories as linguistically and indicatively masculine."⁶⁹

As subjects, then, male prostitutes placed claims on – or were represented as placing claims on – their close relationships with their clients (the mourning *puer*, the greetings to clients) and their physical attractiveness (*calos* Castrensis and Paris). As with female prostitutes, the male prostitutes may have been obliged to effect emotional relationships with men who sexually used them or to present themselves both in person and in permanent text as existing solely for the visual pleasure of others. Yet we may also interpret these graffiti as self-conscious performances of affection geared toward evoking gifts or money from clients or otherwise ameliorating their circumstances. Male prostitutes may also have had opportunities to proclaim sexual agency, either by coopting statements already written on the walls or – more controversially – by writing graffiti recasting themselves as sexual subjects and agents.

RESISTANCE

In addition to resisting their exploitation by proclaiming or reframing themselves as sexual subjects, male prostitutes could occasionally resist in physical ways. This possibility is made most clear in a graffito below the window of

room e (discussed in [Chapter 6](#)): *ratio mi cum ponis | Batacare te pidicaro*, “when you hand over the money, Batacarus, I’ll ass-fock you” (*CIL* 4.2254 Add. p. 216). Batacarus, as the one handing over the money, must be a client, and he is represented here as paying to be anally penetrated by a prostitute.⁷⁰ I have already mentioned (see p.106) that this graffito is one of the few graffiti in the brothel that are defamatory toward males, and suggested that Batacarus serves as an ideological anti-type for male clients to unite against in their communal, normative masculinity. For male prostitutes, this graffito had other resonances. The penetrator of Batacarus remains nameless, opening up interpretative possibilities for any prostitute to see himself, or present himself, as a sexual penetrator. The phallus drawn at the beginning of the graffito would shift the tone of the graffito from a statement of fact – useful enough as a defamatory rumor about Batacarus’s proclivities – to a physical threat.

While both male and female prostitutes had intimate knowledge about their clients that they could put into public circulation as rumors, or more permanently write on the walls of the brothel, only male prostitutes had the ability to threaten clients with phallic penetration. The fresco of Priapus between rooms c and d on the north side of the hallway ([Plate VIII](#)) may have had a particular resonance with this theme. Male prostitutes could simultaneously be considered the “produce” that Priapus protects from would-be thieves (in this case, greedy or violent customers) and, more importantly for our considerations here, Priapus himself, with the power to punish others through penetration.⁷¹

In sum, scholars have nearly fallen into the trap created by the comparative invisibility of male prostitutes vis-à-vis their female counterparts. Absent from the structure’s erotic frescoes, and suggested but not named in client’s boasts, male prostitutes toiled in obscurity. This invisibility, paired with the cultural expectation that adulthood brought the end of desirability for males, made the day-to-day lives of the male prostitutes arduous (as they took time-consuming measures to keep their bodies smooth and hairless) and their continued existence in the brothel precarious.

Either in spite of this precariousness, or because of it, male prostitutes literally carved out space for themselves as subjects – stressing their beauty, devotion to clients, and perhaps even their sexual agency – in the brothel.⁷² Finally, their ability to sexually penetrate clients could be used to threaten clients, and thus male prostitutes may have finally seen themselves represented in the brothel’s décor, namely, in the figure of Priapus the protector, standing guard near doorway 18.

CONCLUSION

When visiting the purpose-built brothel today, tourists often get the impression of a grim environment of bare cells with bare walls and bare beds. However, this book demonstrates that the material environment of the brothel was more lively than modern impressions convey. The structure's decorated masonry platforms had similarities with wooden and masonry dining and sleeping furniture elsewhere in the Bay of Naples, and would have been covered in mattresses and perhaps linens and pillows too. The doorways may have been adorned with curtains. Around the structure you would have glimpsed objects such as a lamp, coins, glass drinking ware, a glass vial for perfume or cosmetics, a bronze and iron razor, and a bronze shell-shaped basin. One or more wooden tables may have been used to keep the glass items out from underfoot and close at hand for those on the platforms. On the walls, ships seemed to set sail, phalluses to ejaculate, birds to flutter, faces to shift emotions. Graffiti shouted out greetings and boasts.

On the separate upper level, one could find both small and large rooms, some with multicolor frescoes and stucco decoration, with wooden doors shutting each room off from the balcony overlooking the street. The entrance-way to this level was protected by both a metal lock and a bronze, apotropaic bell, and once inside, you would have seen a glass vessel and glass-paste gaming counters. Upstairs, someone may have been in the middle of preparing a meal of onions and field beans, and other items potentially attributable to this space

include seashells, perhaps to hold cosmetics, a small bronze lampstand, and bronze fittings for furnishings (among other items).

Not only was the ambiance of the structure richer (relatively speaking) than previously thought; the structure also hosted multiple types of activities. These included, first and foremost, sex with a male or female prostitute, who would thus be required to offer vaginal, anal, or oral sex to a paying client, or on rare occasions, to sexually penetrate a client. These prostitutes were likely slaves or individuals too poor to earn a living otherwise, and thus exploitation lay at the base of these interactions.

Alongside sex, the material evidence of the ground floor points to a range of activities that have gone virtually unnoticed by scholars. Drinkware suggests that clients drank (perhaps with prostitutes), with the additional possibility that prostitutes drank alone as a form of self-care or resistance. The razor and bronze shell-shaped basin might have been used to offer shaves to clients, or male prostitutes may have used these items to shave their own facial hair (and thus prolong their desirability). A perfume or cosmetics vial may have been a gift from a client to a favored prostitute. The graffiti show clients and prostitutes conversing with each other, catching up on local news, leaving boasts and proclamations of sexual agency, and jumping up on the structure's platforms. The architecture would have allowed clients to visually objectify prostitutes, and prostitutes to spy on their clients and spread rumors about their masculinity.

The upper floor may have hosted prostitution, though there is no clear evidence of such a function. Rather, the upper floor seems most likely to have been residential in nature. The type of layout, moreover, is most akin to rental properties, and a range of individuals from short-term visitors to families to perhaps even the structure's manager may have lived there.

As will be seen in the following sections, these findings have wider implications for our understanding of Roman (and Greek) prostitution, urban space, and social hierarchy.

INTEGRATION INTO THE URBAN, VISUAL, AND SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

To start, the purpose-built brothel and its prostitutes were more integrated into the urban landscape and community than most scholarship acknowledges, with implications especially for models of ancient moral zoning that rely on the seclusion of the brothel or its prostitutes (see pp. 5–6).

First, the structure was literally integrated into the material fabric of its block, since it shares exterior walls with its neighbors to the west and north. These party walls were only strong enough to support an upper floor in *either* the brothel *or* its neighbors, but not both, and thus the use of the shared walls to support an upper floor above the brothel must have required negotiation

with the owner(s) of neighboring properties. As mentioned above, this upper floor most likely consisted of one or more rental units (of decent quality, given the size and décor of some of the rooms), and thus the structure as a whole combined the commercial space of the brothel on the ground floor with (income-generating?) residential space on the upper floor. The structure is thus further evidence for the mingling of commercial and residential space within the same property – as seen even in elite houses with shops along their façades – and suggests a property owner with a diverse investment portfolio (including the brothel) engaged in successful negotiations with neighboring property owners for use of shared support walls.

Visually, the structure was designed to be potentially penetrable to the gaze of those walking by. This permeability is significant since some other building types – like public toilets (including the public toilet in Pompeii's forum [VII.7.28]) – have a staggered set of entrances preventing those passing by from seeing inside.¹ Doorway 18 of the brothel, on the other hand, allowed anyone passing by to see directly into the main hallway with its gallery of erotic frescoes. If any of the prostitutes or clients were congregating in the hallway, they would effectively be on display for anyone passing by. The view through doorway 19 could extend directly to the masonry platform in one of the rooms, allowing passersby to catch glimpses of a prostitute in that room (with a possible strip-tease effect as the prostitute's body came into and out of view as one walked by). Prostitutes could also verbally solicit clients through this doorway or communicate with their friends, and vice versa.

It is also likely that the brothel's prostitutes were visible out in the community. Antonio Varone has already argued that the brothel's prostitutes solicited clients (or even worked) elsewhere at Pompeii,² and Linnea Åshede points out that Latin vocabulary for prostitutes (e.g., *circulatrix*, "a woman who strolls about"; *prostibulum*, "one who stands in front") suggests both movement and public visibility.³ We can add that certain activities – such as fetching water from one of the nearby fountains – would have brought prostitutes out of the brothel and into the wider community. Two of the three closest fountains were in popular, heavily trafficked areas on main thoroughfares, and thus the brothel's prostitutes would have been visible to a broad spectrum of individuals, including matrons and children. Moreover, the objects found in the structure raise questions about who purchased the structure's glass drinking ware, and from where; and from what shop wine was purchased, who purchased it, and how was it transported. Regardless of whom we imagine conducting these transactions – prostitutes, an errand boy, or the manager – one or more individuals associated with the brothel were in the community purchasing items.

The brothel's graffiti also point to the *social* integration of the establishment's prostitutes and clients into the wider community. Some of the brothel's graffiti

mention a person's occupation, origin, or family members, making readers aware that individuals in the brothel had identities and families outside the brothel. Death notices, greetings, and an expression of local town rivalries suggest that the walls of the structure served as an ever-changing message board, keeping individuals apprised of community news.

Regarding our most secure example of a Roman brothel, then, we have evidence of prostitution and residential space sharing the same structure, of prostitutes (and probably also the manager) out in the urban landscape, and of community members using the walls of the structure to proclaim their identities and leave messages for others. This interpenetration (as it were) of brothel and community serves to cast doubts on theories of moral zoning that are predicated on the brothel being hidden away, or its prostitutes secluded out of view.⁴

BLURRING BOUNDARIES

The preceding eight chapters have also revealed a blurring of boundaries between brothels and other types of service establishments, between the categories of brothel prostitutes, on the one hand, and courtesans, on the other, and between clients of different social or legal statuses (at least while they were in the brothel).

Thomas McGinn has rightly suggested that the boundaries between establishments that sold sex, drink, food, and lodging were more porous than ancient literary sources or twentieth-century archaeological studies suggest.⁵ He has already noted evidence for drinking in the brothel (especially the glass cups and bottle of the ground floor)⁶; we can add that the ground floor's masonry platforms have similarities to dining furniture from around the Bay of Naples. We can also note that the closest architectural parallels to the purpose-built brothel are a set of buildings in Rome where individuals could partake of food and drink, sometimes in combination with lodging and perhaps sex. Indeed, the continuing debate over the primary function of these structures confirms that the separation between both the activities themselves and the spaces in which they were hosted may not be as clear as we used to think.

This project also shows that the boundaries between brothel prostitutes and courtesans were not as absolute as ancient Roman (or modern scholarly) ideologies suggest. In fact, the experiences offered by the prostitutes of the purpose-built brothel have provocative overlaps with the services normally associated with higher-status courtesans. The brothel offered clients a leisured drinking experience (as suggested by the drinkware), possibly with prostitutes keeping them company and drinking with them. To judge by greetings between prostitutes and clients and the gift of perfume or cosmetics that the brothel's glass vial may represent, there was the potential for longer-term

affective relationships to develop between clients and prostitutes. Even the fictional world presented in the brothel's frescoes – often taken as showing a higher level of leisure and luxury than one might expect in a brothel – is shown to overlap in many ways with the real ambiance and offerings of the purpose-built brothel. Both the structure and the frescoes had vessels and lamps; the mattresses and footstools of the frescoes almost certainly had (now-lost) parallels in the structure itself; and conversations feature in both.

The opposition between high-class courtesans who offer conversation, companionship, and drink, on the one hand, and low-status brothel prostitutes who offer only sex, on the other, is thus shown to not accurately reflect the reality of Roman sexual labor. This in turn contributes to a growing body of work that shows how Roman women fashioned their identities in ways that complicate or transcend the categories (such as prostitute and matron, as Anise Strong argues) presented in elite, male-authored texts.⁷

In addition, the purpose-built brothel succeeded in temporarily dissolving the boundaries between clients of different statuses. Clients were offered a privileged visual axis that subordinated prostitutes to their gaze and bestowed them (at least while in the brothel) with a type of visual power and privilege usually offered to free men. The lack of status markers among the frescoes' figures allowed clients of any status to identify with or objectify those figures, and the frescoes carefully avoided potentially problematic sexual acts, such as anal sex between males. Clients could drink reclining like free men and could proclaim their masculine, penetrative sexual prowess on the structure's walls or, if illiterate, leave a figural boast in the form an ejaculating phallus or a portrait.

These prerogatives gain significance when we consider that some (or perhaps even many) of the brothel's clients would have been denied privileged viewpoints outside the brothel or been the visual objects of their master's gaze; that in Pompeian houses, frescoes of slaves performing servile work around languid banqueters or frolicking couples may have reminded some clients of their master's "power to punish or to enjoy" them⁸; that clients may have been accustomed to jockey for better dining positions at their friends' or patrons' banquets, or had to stand at attention and wait on their reclining master and his guests; and that clients themselves might have been the penetrated, sexual objects of their masters and former masters.

In sum, clients of all statuses could partake in leisure and perform masculinity like free men, blurring the boundaries between slave and free, at least within the walls of the brothel. In this way, the brothel can be seen as a social equalizer.

EXPLOITATION AND AGENCY

Many of the services offered to clients, however, relied on exploiting the purpose-built brothel's male and female prostitutes. This exploitation

permeated deeper into the daily lives and psyches of the prostitutes than previously realized, requiring them to perform emotional labor and forge connections with their clients. At the same time, the brothel's prostitutes nevertheless seized opportunities to express agency and resist their exploitation. These types of experiences would not have been restricted to the purpose-built brothel; rather, they can be said to characterize the lives of exploited individuals – slaves, the poor, and other prostitutes – more generally.

As we have seen, prostitutes' bodies were put on display for the pleasure of clients; they had to perform emotional labor by writing greetings to their clients or chatting them up while drinking with them or shaving them; they performed ideological work by writing boasts about their clients' sexual prowess (or by having their voices used for such boasts); and they performed the physical labor of sex, shaving, and hauling water. In other words, the bodies, voices, and emotions of the brothel's male and female prostitutes were all for sale. While prostitutes were stroking clients' egos through second-person praise, and feigning care for them in greetings, male clients wrote boasts in which prostitutes were mostly interchangeable or anonymous sexual objects.

The expectation that prostitutes in the purpose-built brothel had to perform emotional labor has further repercussions. Not only does it open up new avenues of research for scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity, but it also contributes to our understanding of ancient and modern economies. As Barbara Brents and Kathryn Hausbeck note, the commodification of emotional labor is usually associated with capitalism: "The cultural and economic changes driven by global, late capitalism have created a consumer-driven, service-based economy that increasingly sells human interactions and emotional exchanges. The sale of personal service, leisure, spectacle, and tourism places more and more components of human relationships on to the market."⁹ Nevertheless, their description would seem to apply to Imperial Rome, as well.

At the same time as they were exploited, prostitutes employed multiple strategies for expressing their subjectivity and agency, skillfully using the tools available to them – including the rhetoric of wall writing – to resist and reframe the narratives of their exploitation. They could proclaim themselves as sexual subjects and agents, convey their personas through graffiti and performative viewership of the brothel's frescoes, and use their emotional labor for their *own* betterment. They could use time for their own purposes both inside and outside the structure. They could turn clients into objects of scrutiny, and threaten clients with defaming their status or masculinity.

Prostitutes cannot be reduced to either exploited victim or agential subject; they are both at the very same time. This nuanced understanding of identity, in turn, provides a model for exploring the lives of other individuals of servile or low status in Roman culture.

ECONOMIC MODEL OF THE PURPOSE-BUILT BROTHEL

We can now return to the questions introduced at the beginning of this study. First, if sex could be bought in myriad locations at Pompeii, including bars, inns, and on the streets, why would an individual choose to go the purpose-built brothel specifically? As I have shown through this project, the purpose-built brothel was a place where clients could buy not just sex, but a sexual *experience*. Any client with a little bit of money – including slaves – could carry on emotional and physical relationships with the purpose-built brothel’s prostitutes. Clients could believe themselves to have a girlfriend or boyfriend who cares about them and praises their masculinity. Clients could drink with these individuals, exchange greetings, and win their affection with gifts. Moreover, clients could leave their mark and be remembered.

This raises a further question, also broached in the [Introduction](#): why have we not found more purpose-built brothels in the Roman (or Greek) world? Several features suggest that profits may have been at risk in the purpose-built brothel. First, the multiple activities that took place in the structure in addition to sex (i.e., drinking, writing and reading graffiti, possible shaves) show that clients were spending much more time in the brothel than we previously thought; the outlay of time needed for these activities may have affected the business’s profitability. We can add that the lopsided distribution of graffiti among the ground-floor rooms may imply that the establishment was not fully staffed, again raising questions about the economic success of the venture.

Moreover, the investment in a purpose-built structure for prostitution – while fitting the larger trend of proliferating building types at Pompeii (whose specificity in commercial building types is unmatched elsewhere in Greco-Roman antiquity) – ultimately may not have offered enough flexibility for an owner. Brothel owners and clients may have found the types of prostitution offered in non-purpose-built structures adequate for their respective business and sexual needs, and prostitution may have thus reverted to other types of structures (such as bars or taverns).¹⁰ The “business model” of a purpose-built brothel, then, may have been a failed experiment.

GREEK AND ROMAN PROSTITUTION

Finally, although Pompeii’s purpose-built brothel is often taken as a unique outlier not representative of Greco-Roman prostitution more broadly, there are more overlaps between Roman prostitution as revealed in the purpose-built brothel and what we know about Greek prostitution than previously thought.¹¹

First, in both cultures, the sale of sex was combined with other types of activities, especially drinking wine.¹² We have already seen that in the

purpose-built brothel, drink and companionship, and perhaps shaves, were offered alongside sex. The most likely example of a Greek brothel, building Z from the Athenian Kerameikos, has evidence for drinking and eating, cooking, wool working, ritual activity, and personal care.¹³ As Bradley Ault summarizes, “a multiplicity of functions were served [in building Z], from residential to commercial, accompanied by eating, drinking, weaving, and whoring.”¹⁴

Second, structures where sex was sold were integrated into their communities. Similar to how the purpose-built brothel shared walls with its neighbors and was located near Pompeii’s forum and the Stabian Baths, Greek structures where sex was sold were integrated into their urban contexts in numerous ways: they were located near major landmarks to be easily findable; they often had party walls with neighboring buildings; and they shared neighborhoods with commercial and residential properties (as shown by Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis).¹⁵ Glazebrook and Tsakirgis even propose a system of ownership and management similar to what has been posited for the purpose-built brothel, with an owner making money by renting out the property while allowing a middleman to manage the actual operations of the establishment.¹⁶

Finally, the distinction between types of sex laborers in both cultures seems to be more important in modern scholarship than in ancient practice. As shown above, the offerings of the brothel’s prostitutes most likely included conversation and drink, and therefore approximated the experiences normally associated with courtesans. Similarly, while it used to be thought that the low-status Greek brothel prostitute (*porne*) was the polar opposite of the high-class courtesan (*hetaira*), recent scholarship has shown that the reality was more complicated, and with more opportunities for movement between types of sexual labor, than previously realized.¹⁷ For example, the words *porne* and *hetaira* could be used to describe the same woman (the famous Greek prostitute Neaira, to give an example), with the former being used as a term of disparagement.¹⁸ Indeed, Rebecca Flemming notes that by the Imperial period, the two terms were used nearly interchangeably.¹⁹

Thus, while there are differences between prostitution in Greek and Roman culture, future scholarship might profit by looking into continuities regarding the conceptualization or practice of prostitution in the two cultures.

By taking seriously the material evidence preserved in the purpose-built brothel, we gain a more nuanced understanding not only of this unique structure and the surprising array of activities and interactions that took place there but also of broader facets of Roman (and Greek) prostitution, Roman society, and the ancient economy. I hope to have made vivid the lives of individuals – both prostitutes and clients – who toiled and tried to carve out the best possible lives for themselves at the margins of Roman society.

APPENDIX A:

EXCAVATION HISTORY AND MATERIAL FINDS

GROUND FLOOR

The following chart presents the excavation history of the brothel proper (VII.12.18–19; for doorway 20 and the upper floor, see later). I provide the dates of excavation, the spaces excavated (as precisely as can be known), a transcription of the original daily log handwritten by Pompeii’s on-site supervisors (the *Giornale dei soprastanti* [OR]), and a summary of finds in English.¹ Additional information about each object – size (where this information is available) in metric units,² current location, and sources on the object beyond the *Giornale dei soprastanti* – can be found in the notes. As mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), Giuseppe Fiorelli’s 1862 published report should not be taken as comprehensive, as it leaves out several items found on the ground floor (the bronze shell-shaped basin from room f; the *raschiatoio* found in room d), and occasionally misrepresents where items were found.³ Likewise, Halsted Van der Poel and Paola Poli Capri’s assessment of excavation location in the margins of their typescript of the *Giornale dei soprastanti* is not always correct, and therefore should be carefully checked against the *Giornale dei soprastanti* descriptions themselves and any other available evidence.⁴

Date	Location	Entry in the <i>Giornale dei soprastanti</i>	Summary of Finds
May 27, 1862	Ground floor: hallway	Si è lavorato con 130 operai, 4 vagoni nella P ^{ma} località a sinistra entrando nel vicoletto perpendicolare a quello delle Terme Stabiane, e proprio nel vicolo che segue il dipinto con serpenti, ov’era un passetto pensile [this refers to VII.11.11]; oggetti non se ne sono raccolti ; come del pari nel menzionato vicolo delle Terme si son dissepoliti due quadretti osceni nella prima bottega località a sinistra che segue immediatamente l’entrata dell’altro vicolo perpendicolare a quello in parola. Oggetti non se	No objects found

(continued)

(continued)

Date	Location	Entry in the <i>Giornale dei soprastanti</i>	Summary of Finds
May 28, 1862	Ground floor: room f	ne sono rinvenuti. I Soprast: [signature of Nicola Pagano] ⁵ Gli stessi operai e vagoni di ieri hanno continuato a lavorare nelle località sopraccennate, e nella casa N° 6 a destra della Strada che si prolunga con quella degli Olconi attraversando l'altra di Stabia. Nel P ^{mo} di menzionati lavori si son palesati altri tre dipinti osceni, e nel P ^{mo} cubiculo a sinistra della stessa casa si è rinvenuto un letto in fabbrica con corrispondente guanciaie anche in fabbrica con numerosa quantità d'iscrizioni graffite sulle pareti, e nel suolo si è raccolto = <u>Bronzo</u> = Quattro monete di modulo mezzano = Altra di modulo piccolo = Una forma di pasticceria a guisa di conchiglia rotta; di diam ^o pl ^o 0.70 = <u>Vetro</u> = Un piccolo unguentario senza manichi ed alquanto rotto nel labbro, alto pl ^o 0.28 = Una tazzolina di color verde, di diam ^o pl ^o 0.30 = Altra tazza frammentata = Una bottiglia frammentata = <u>Terracotta</u> = Un lucerna ad un lume, lunga pl ^o 0.45 = E nel primo secondo di sopraccennati cavamenti [probably I.4.22 ⁶] si è rinvenuto nella stanza a destra del tablino [here follows the finds from this room, which I omit] . . . I Soprast: [signature of Domenico Scognamiglio] ⁷	• 4 medium-sized bronze coins⁸ • 1 small bronze coin⁹ • 1 broken bronze shell-shaped basin (<i>forma di pasticceria</i>)¹⁰ • 1 small glass vial (<i>unguentario</i>) without handles¹¹ • 1 small green glass cup¹² • 1 fragmentary glass cup¹³ • 1 fragmentary glass bottle¹⁴ • 1 single-nozzle terracotta lamp¹⁵
May 30, 1862 ¹⁶	Ground floor	Nell Si è lavorato solamente nel sito ove sono i dipinti osceni, e si son rinvenuti altri due cubicoli con massi di fabbriche ad uso di letti come il descritto nel giorno 28, e le loro pareti son fornite pure di varî iscrizioni graffite = Gli operai e vagoni sono stati come nei giorni precedenti. I Soprast: [signature of Antonio Imparato] ¹⁷	No objects found
May 31, 1862	Ground floor: room d	I lavori di sterro son continuati nella menzionata casa con i medesimi lavoratori e vagoni, e nel P ^{mo} cubiculo a dritta si è raccolto = una raschiatoja di <u>ferro</u> col manico di bronzo, lunga pl ^o 0.46 I Soprast: [signature of Nicola Pagano] ¹⁸	1 iron blade with a bronze handle ¹⁹

DOORWAY 20

Doorway 20 opens into an entranceway with a latrine at the back and a staircase leading to the upper level. I list it separately since the space was architecturally separate from the ground-floor brothel (in other words, there is no way to go from one to the other except by exiting onto the street, walking next door, and gaining entry to the other space). As is the case for the rest of the ground floor, I advocate caution in using Fiorelli's 1862 report, as he fails to mention a bronze lockplate and lock mechanism, a bronze stud, and three glass-paste counters found in this doorway.²⁰

Date	Location	Entry in the <i>Giornale dei soprastanti</i>	Summary of Finds
June 4, 1862 ²¹	Doorway VII.12.20 ²²	Son continuati i lavori con 117 operai, e 5 vagoni nella località casa descritta il giorno due [VII.11.11], ²³ ove si è raccolto sul lato sinistro dell'atrio [here follows the finds from this space and others in the same structure, which I omit] . . . Nell'ingresso del lupanare ch'è alle spalle del muro di fronte all'altro ingresso principale sul vicolo delle Terme Stabiane, e propriamente il 2 ^{do} vano che esce sul vicolo perpendicolare al descritto = <u>Bronzo</u> = Una campanella priva del batacchio, lunga pl ^o 0.43 = Uno scudo rettangolare rotto, lungo pl ^o 0.30 = Un corrente di serratura, lungo pl ^o 0.40 = Una borchia priva di anello, di diam ^o pl ^o 0.17 = Una moneta di modulo medio mancante d'un pezzo = Altra di modulo piccolo = <u>Vetro</u> = Una carraffinetta, alta pl ^o 0.62 = <u>Pastavitrea</u> = Tre pietre per bottoni = I Soprast ²⁴	• 1 bronze bell, missing its clapper (see Fig. 57)²⁵ • 1 rectangular bronze lockplate, broken²⁶ • 1 bronze lock mechanism²⁷ • 1 bronze stud, without its ring²⁸ • 1 medium bronze coin, missing a part²⁹ • 1 small bronze coin³⁰ • 1 small glass vessel³¹ • 3 glass-paste counters³²

UPPER FLOOR

In January and February of 1862, excavation was progressing northward along the street now known as the Vicolo del Lupanare (often referred to in the *Giornale dei soprastanti* as the street that “costeggia le Nuove Terme” [flanks the New (i.e., Stabian) Baths]), with attention concentrating on the House of Siricus (VII.1.47). The discovery of the large painted shrine on the street façade between VII.11.12 and VII.11.13 on January 30, 1862, is a good measure of how much of the street had been excavated to that point.³³ On February 3, 1862, the street now known as the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile was first uncovered at its intersection with the Vicolo del Lupanare, and the upper levels (specifically, “all'altezza circa di un secondo piano o ammezzato”) of insula VII.12 began to be excavated.³⁴

Unfortunately, the entries in the *Giornale dei soprastanti* are not sufficiently clear about which structures were being excavated at their upper levels to definitely determine the location (though we can often narrow it down to one or two possibilities). Moreover, since materials recovered from the street may have actually fallen from the brothel's overhanging balcony, which extended over both the Vicolo del Lupanare and Vicolo del Balcone Pensile, we may never be able to ascertain beyond doubt which items can be attributed to the upper floor of our structure. Because of this lack of certainty, I provide a narrative account of the upper floor's history of excavation and finds, with details (including transcription of the relevant parts of the *Giornale dei soprastanti* entries) in the notes.

The first possible excavation of our structure's upper level took place on February 5, 1862, in a space described as the “secondo vano a sinistra del vicoletto che fiancheggia le Nuove Terme, a partire dall'angolo dell'altro che segue il dipinto de' serpenti.”³⁵ If the “secondo vano” is counted at the upper

level itself, this would in fact be room q of the upper level of our structure; however, if the “secondo vano” is the second street-level doorway, we would be dealing with VII.12.17 (which is Van der Poel and Poli Capri’s assessment).³⁶ The finds in this space are elements of two bronze hinges as well as fragments of bronze.³⁷

Excavation over the next couple of weeks focused mostly on the House of Siricus (VII.1.47), with finds possibly pertaining to our structure appearing on February 21. On this day, excavation took place “nel punto ove è apparso un passetto pensile, sotto al primo vano di esso, in continuazione del dipinto de’ serpenti, nel vicoletto che costeggia le dette terme.”³⁸ As I interpret this description, the objects were found *on* the Vicolo del Lupanare (“nel vicoletto che costeggia le dette terme”), under the remains of the one of the balconies that jutted out over the street.³⁹ The items found on this day – a bronze lampstand, bronze hinge, two bronze nails, a bronze coin, a glass vessel, and a terracotta lamp – may indeed have fallen through the floor of our structure’s balcony onto the street below.⁴⁰ Fiorelli, to the extent that his description can be trusted, claims that the objects (or at least the lampstand; he does not mention the other objects) came from our structure’s balcony.⁴¹ It seems that the same location was excavated the next day (“Con lo stesso andamento del giorno precedente . . . nel ribassare le terre del vicoletto che costeggia le nuove Terme, verso il punto, ove trovasi il passetto pensile”), with the same possibility that the objects recovered had fallen from the balcony of our structure.⁴² These include a bronze pivot, the bronze handle of a vessel, a bronze implement (awl?), possibly a bronze surgical or cosmetics probe, a bronze coin, a terracotta lamp, a boar tooth, seashells, and a snail shell.⁴³

After not working on February 23 and focusing on the House of Siricus and the garden area of VII.14.15 on February 24, 1862, excavation took place “nell’estremo superiore del passetto pensile a sinistra del vicoletto che costeggia le nuove terme andando verso l’altro di Augusto” on February 25, 1862.⁴⁴ A bronze vessel with carbonized onions (see Fig. 61) and field beans was found in this location, which Fiorelli in his summary describes as coming from the brothel’s balcony (like the lampstand, above).⁴⁵ Finally, after not working on February 26 because of poor weather and focusing on VII.11.13 and the House of Siricus the two next days,⁴⁶ excavation returned “verso la estremità del passetto pensile” on March 1, 1862, finding a bronze support bracket.⁴⁷ Attention moves away from the northern part of the Vicolo del Lupanare until May 26, 1862,⁴⁸ with the ground floor of the brothel discovered the next day (see earlier).

APPENDIX B:

GRAFFITI

The information below is based on visual examination of the purpose-built brothel's extant textual and figural graffiti. For graffiti that are damaged beyond reading or have been worn away by more than 150 years of exposure, I rely on the transcriptions and scale drawings published in *CIL* 4 (1871).¹ To capture the different levels of literacy among the brothel's writers, as well as aspects of vernacular and the influence of oral pronunciation and multilingualism, I keep editorial interventions in the transcriptions to a minimum. Likewise, in the English translations I replicate grammatical or spelling mistakes made in the graffiti as well as non-standard forms of names (while also indicating, in square brackets, standardized versions of names). For corrected versions of the brothel's graffiti, consult the relevant entries in the Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR). In addition to transcription and translation, I also include location information (see also Fig. 27) and, where applicable, other graffiti from the brothel with the same name(s).² Significant alternate transcriptions and translations are mentioned in the notes.

As Rebecca Benefiel has pointed out, determining how many graffiti were written in a particular space is not as easy as counting the number of entries in *CIL*.³ Some entries of *CIL* are subdivided by the addition of a letter to the end of the number (e.g., *CIL* 4.2218 and *CIL* 4.2218a), and figural graffiti, if described at all, are mentioned in notes to entries and do not receive a separate *CIL* number. Counting by number of *CIL* entries (including the lettered subdivisions), there are 134 textual graffiti in the brothel (*CIL* 4.2173–2296, 3101a). At least seven images were scratched into the walls and can still be seen,⁴ in addition to three others described by early sources but no longer visible.⁵ As is common practice,⁶ I stop counting there for a total of 144 textual and figural graffiti. One could theoretically subdivide further, counting different hands at play in the same graffito (as in the three or four contributors to *CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465), adding the “stray letters” mentioned in the notes of *CIL* (sometimes constituting whole words, as in the one assured and one possible name in the notes of *CIL* 4.2200), or subdividing *CIL* entries further (as Antonio Varone has done for *CIL* 4.2262 Add. p. 465, for example; see further below). In addition, new forays into digital imaging of the brothel's walls may bring to light graffiti that have so far escaped detection.⁷ With that in mind, any numerical analysis of graffiti (in the brothel or elsewhere) should be taken as a close approximation.

CIL 4 Number	Transcription (for text) or Description (for images)	Translation	Location⁸	Name(s) Elsewhere in Brothel
2173 Add. p. 215 [at 2173 Add. p. 215]	<i>Salvi filia</i> ⁹ Head facing left with headgear (see Fig. 21) ¹¹	daughter of Salvius ¹⁰	Room f, west wall Room f, west wall	
2174	<i>Ias cum Ma gno ubique</i>	Ias [= Ias] with Magnus everywhere ¹²	Room f, west wall	2231 Add. p. 215 [both <i>Ias</i> and <i>Magnus</i>] ¹³
2175	<i>hic ego puellas multas futui</i> ¹⁴	Here I fucked many girls	Room f, west wall ¹⁵	
2176	<i>Felix bene futuis</i> ¹⁶	Felix, you fuck well	Room f, west wall	2224, 2232
2177	<i>Ikarus Θ</i> ¹⁷	Ikarus, dead ¹⁸	Room f, west wall	
2178	<i>Facilis · hic · futuit</i>	Facilis fucks (or: fucked) here ¹⁹	Room f, west wall	2276 ²⁰
2178a	<i>nica Crete issime</i> ²¹	Conquer, Cretus [= Chrestus] yourself! ²²	Room f, west wall	
2178b	<i>Panta</i> ²³	Panta ²⁴	Room f, west wall	
2179	<i>calos Paris</i>	beautiful Paris (or: Paris [is] beautiful) ²⁵	Room f, west wall	
2180	<i>calos Castrensis s(alutem)</i> ²⁶	Beautiful Castrensis [sends] gr(eetings)	Room f, west wall	2290
2181 Add. p. 215 [at 2181 Add. p. 215]	<i>Iarinus</i> ²⁷ Ejaculating phallus (see Fig. 62) ²⁹	Iarinus	Room f, west wall Room f, west wall	2205, ²⁸ 2220, 2251
2182	<i>Phoeb</i> ³⁰	Phoeb[us]	Room f, west wall	2184 Add. p. 215, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2207, 2248 Add. p. 215
2183 Add. p. 465	<i>Puteolanis feliciter omnibus Nucherinis felicia et uncu · Pompeianis Petecusanis</i> ³¹	Good luck to the Puteolans! To all the Nucherians [= Nuceriaans], luck! [But] an anchor for the Pompeians [and] the Petecusans [= Pithecusans]	Room f, west wall ³²	
2184 Add. p. 215	<i>Phoebus · unguentarius optume futuit</i> ³³	Phoebus the perfumer fucks (or: fucked) best	Room f, west wall	2182, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2207, 2248 Add. p. 215
2185	<i>S[ol]lemnes b[e]ne futues</i> ³⁴	S[ol]lemnes [= Sollemnīs?], you fock w[e]ll ³⁵	Room f, west wall	2186, 2218a
2186	<i>Søllemnes bene futues</i> ³⁶	Sollemnēs [= Sollemnīs?], you fock well ³⁷	Room f, west wall	2185, 2218a
2187	<i>Vitalio bene · futues</i> ³⁸	Vitalio, you fock well ³⁹	Room f, west wall	

2188	<i>Scordopordonicus hic · bene fuit · quem · voluit</i> ⁴⁰	Scordopordonicus fucks (or: fukt) well here who he wished ⁴¹	Room f, west wall ⁴²	
2189	<i>Helpis B</i> ⁴³	Helpis B[?] ⁴⁴	Room f, west wall	
2190	<i>Vadavo</i> ⁴⁵	Vadavo ⁴⁶	Room f, west wall	
2191	<i>futui</i>	I fucked	Room f, west wall	
–	Head facing left [with <i>futui</i> (CIL 4.2191) in forehead] (see Fig. 22) ⁴⁷		Room f, west wall	
2192 Add. p. 215	<i>XVII K(alendas) Iul(ias) Hermeros cum Phile tero · et Caphi so hic · futu erunt</i>	17 days before the K(alends) of Jul(y), Hermeros with Phileterus and Caphisus fucked here	Room f, west wall ⁴⁸	<i>Hermoros</i> : 2195, notes of 2200 Add. p. 215 ⁴⁹
2193	<i>Arphocras hic cum Drauca bene futuit denario</i> ⁵⁰	Arphocras [= Harpocras] with Drauca fucks (or: fucked) well here for a denarius ⁵¹	Room f, west wall	
2194 Add. p. 465	<i>Phoebus pedico</i> ⁵²	Phoebus the ass-fucker (or: Phoebus [is] an ass-fucker; or: I, Phoebus, ass-fuck) ⁵³	Room f, west wall	2182, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2207, 2248 Add. p. 215
2195	<i>Hermoros hic futuit</i> ⁵⁴	Hermoros fucks (or: fucked) here	Room f, west wall	2192 Add. p. 215, notes of 2200 Add. p. 215 ⁵⁵
2196	<i>Lucr</i> ⁵⁶	Lucr[io?] ⁵⁷	Room f, west wall	If <i>Lucrio</i> : 2267
2197 Add. p. 215	<i>pdic · Aplonia [-----] bene-dat·Nonius futere</i> ⁵⁸	ass-fck Aplonia [= Apollonia?] . . . gives it good Nonius to fuck ⁵⁹	Room f, west wall	
2198 Add. p. 215	<i>Beronice [-]abenda futuere</i> ⁶⁰	Beronice [H]abenda to fuck ⁶¹	Room f, west wall	<i>Beronice</i> : 2256 [<i>Beronce</i>], 2278 ⁶²
2199	<i>Felicia ego f</i>	I f-ed [= fucked] Felicia [= Felicula] (or: I, Felicia [= Felicula], f-ed [= fucked]) ⁶³	Room f, west wall	2200 Add. p. 215
2200 Add. p. 215	<i>Feliclam ego hic futue</i> ⁶⁴	I focked Felicia [= Felicula] here ⁶⁵	Room f, west wall	<i>Felicia</i> : 2199; <i>Markas</i> (in the notes of the entry): 2201 [<i>Marcus</i>], 2235 [<i>Marca</i>], ⁶⁶ 2296 Add. p. 216 [<i>Marcus Anicetus</i>]; ⁶⁷ if <i>Hermoros</i> (in the notes of the entry): 2192 Add. p. 215, 2195

(continued)

(continued)

<i>CIL</i> 4 Number	Transcription (for text) or Description (for images)	Translation	Location ⁸	Name(s) Elsewhere in Brothel
2201	<i>Marcus · Scepsini ubique sal(utem)</i> ⁶⁸	Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Scepsis everywhere ⁶⁹	Room f, west wall	<i>Marcus</i> : notes of 2200 Add. p. 215 [<i>Markas</i>], 2235 [<i>Marca</i>], ⁷⁰ 2296 Add. p. 216 [<i>Marcus Anicetus</i>] ⁷¹
2201a	<i>Ianuariae ti</i> ⁷²	of (or: for) Ianuaria . . . ⁷³	Room f, west wall	2227a, 2233, 2236
2202 Add. p. 465	<i>Restituta · bellis moribus</i> ⁷⁴	Restituta with charming ways ⁷⁵	Room f, west wall	
2203 Add. p. 215	<i>futui Mula · hic quid</i>	I fucked Mula (or: a “mule”) here, which (or: I, Mula [or: a “mule”], fucked here, which) ⁷⁶	Room f, west wall	2204 [<i>Mola</i>], 2237 Add. p. 215 [<i>Mo[l]a</i>] ⁷⁷
2204	Μόλα · φουτοῦτρις	Mola the fucktress (or: Mola [is] a fucktress) ⁷⁸	Room f, west wall	2203 Add. p. 215 [<i>Mula</i>], 2237 Add. p. 215 [<i>Mo[l]a</i>] ⁷⁹
—	Ship (see Fig. 20) ⁸⁰		Room f, west wall	
2205	<i>Iar</i> ⁸¹	Iar[inus?] ⁸²	Room f, west wall	If <i>Iarinus</i> : 2181 Add. p. 215, 2220, 2251
2206 Add. p. 215	<i>Callidrome va(le)</i> ⁸³	Callidromus, hey! ⁸⁴	Room f, north wall	
2207	<i>Phoebus</i> ⁸⁵	Phoebus	Room f, north wall	2182, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2248 Add. p. 215
2208	<i>Sabinus Proclo salutem</i> ⁸⁶	Sabinus [sends] greetings to Proclus ⁸⁷	Room f, north wall	
2209	<i>Victor cum</i> ⁸⁸	Victor with	Room f, north wall	2218, 2258, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216, ⁸⁹ 2294
2210	<i>pedicare volo</i> ⁹⁰	I want to ass-fuck	Room f, east wall	
2211	<i>vidimus hoc</i>	We saw this	Room f, east wall	
2212 Add. p. 215	<i>victrix Victoria va(le)</i>	Conqueress Victoria, hey! ⁹¹	Room f, east wall	2221, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228
2213	<i>contiquere</i> ⁹²	They [all] fell silent	Room f, east wall	
2214	<i>Neptunalis</i> ⁹³	Neptunalis ⁹⁴	Room f, east wall	
2215	<i>Cressa</i> ⁹⁵	Cressa	Room f, east wall	perhaps 2280 [<i>Cris</i>]
2216 Add. p. 215	Μουσᾱῖς ἐνθάδε βεινεί ⁹⁶	Mousais [= Mousaios] fucks here	Room f, east wall	
2217	<i>fututa sum hic</i>	I [a woman] was fucked here	Room f, east wall	
2218	<i>Victor · bene futu[-] Novims</i> ⁹⁷	Victor fuck[s? -ed?] (or: you fuck) well Novims [= Novimus]	Room f, east wall	<i>Victor</i> : 2209, 2258, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216, ⁹⁸ 2294
2218a	<i>Sollemnes hic</i> ⁹⁹	Sollemnes [= Sollemnus?] here ¹⁰⁰	Room f, east wall	2185, 2186

2219	<i>December · bene futuis</i>	December, you fuck well ¹⁰¹	Room f, east wall	
2220	<i>Iarin[us]</i> ¹⁰²	Iarin[us]	Room f, east wall	2181 Add. p. 215, 2205, ¹⁰³ 2251
2221	<i>Victorie</i> ¹⁰⁴	Victorie [= Victoria]	Room f, east wall	2212 Add. p. 215, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228
2222	<i>Asbestus · hic</i>	Asbestus here	Room f, east wall	
2223	<i>Florus</i> ¹⁰⁵	Florus	Room f, east wall	
2224	<i>Felix cum Fortunata</i> ¹⁰⁶	Felix with Fortunata	Room f, east wall	<i>Felix</i> : 2176, 2232; <i>Fortunata</i> : ¹⁰⁷ 2259, 2275
2225	<i>vera · Victoria</i> ¹⁰⁸	true Victoria (or: true victory)	Room f, east wall	2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2226, 2227, 2228
2226	<i>Victoria invicta hic</i>	Victoria the unconquerable (or: Victoria [was] unconquered) here	Room f, east wall	2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2225, 2227, 2228
2227	<i>Victoria</i>	Victoria	Room f, east wall	2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2225, 2226, 2228
2227a	<i>Ianuaria</i>	Ianuaria	Room f, east wall	2201a, 2233, 2236
2228	<i>Victorie · a(ssibus) · V</i> ¹⁰⁹	Victorie [= Victoria] [for] 5 a(sses) ¹¹⁰	Room f, east wall	2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2225, 2226, 2227
2229	<i>Non · Aug</i> ¹¹¹	the Non(es?) of Aug(ust?) ¹¹²	Room f, east wall	
2230	<i>Nais [s]odalis</i> ¹¹³	Nais [m]ate	Room f, east wall	
2231 Add. p. 215	<i>Ias Magno salute</i> ¹¹⁴	Ias [sends] greeting to Magnus	Room f, east wall	2174 [both <i>Ias</i> and <i>Magnus</i>] ¹¹⁵
2232	<i>Felix futu cum</i> ¹¹⁶	Felix fuck with	Room f, east wall	2176, 2224
2233	<i>Ianuariaes</i> ¹¹⁷	of Ianuaria	Room f, east wall	2201a, 2227a, 2236
2234	<i>Σωαῖς</i> ¹¹⁸	Sosas [= Sosis or Sosus] ¹¹⁹	Room f, east wall	
2235	<i>Marca</i> ¹²⁰	Marca [= Marcus?] ¹²¹	Room f, east wall	If <i>Marcus</i> : notes of 2200 Add. p. 215 [Markas], 2201 [Marcus], 2296 Add. p. 216 [Marcus Anicetus] ¹²²
2236	<i>Ianuariae</i> ¹²³	of Ianuaria	Room f, east wall	2201a, 2227a, 2233
2237 Add. p. 215	<i>Mo[phallus]a s[-]l</i> ¹²⁴	Mo[l]a [sends] gr[ee]t(ings) ¹²⁵	Room f, east wall	2203 Add. p. 215 [Mula], 2204 ¹²⁶

(continued)

(continued)

<i>CIL</i> 4 Number	Transcription (for text) or Description (for images)	Translation	Location ⁸	Name(s) Elsewhere in Brothel
2238	<i>venimus</i> ¹²⁷	We came	Room f, east wall	
2239	<i>va(le) issa Fabia</i> ¹²⁸	Hey mistress Fabia! ¹²⁹	Room f, east wall	
2240 Add. p. 215	<i>Q(uinti)· Hortessi</i> ¹³⁰	of Q(uintus) Hortessius [= Hortensius] ¹³¹	Room f, east wall	
2241	<i>Posphorus hic · futuit</i> ¹³²	Posphorus [= Phosphorus] fucks (or: fucked) here ¹³³	Hallway, between rooms e and f	
2242	<i>Epaga thus fututor IIC</i> ¹³⁴	Epagathus the fucker (or: Epagathus [is] a fucker) 98[?] ¹³⁵	Hallway, between rooms e and f	
2243	<i>Cadia</i> ¹³⁶	Cadia ¹³⁷	Hallway, between rooms e and f	
2243a	<i>Clim</i> ¹³⁸	Clim[atius? -ene? -enus?] ¹³⁹	Hallway, between rooms e and f	
—	<i>Phallus</i> ¹⁴⁰		Hallway, between rooms e and f	
2244	<i>Fruetus</i> ¹⁴¹	Fruetus [= Fructus] ¹⁴²	Room e, eastern doorpost	If <i>Fructus</i> : 2245, 2245a
2245	<i>Fructus</i>	Fructus	Room e, eastern doorpost	2244 [<i>Fruetus</i>], ¹⁴³ 2245a
2245a	<i>Fructus</i> ¹⁴⁴	Fructus	Room e, eastern doorpost	2244 [<i>Fruetus</i>], ¹⁴⁵ 2245
—	Architectural (?) drawing (see Fig. 24) ¹⁴⁶		Room e, eastern doorpost	
2246 Add. p. 465	<i>hic ego cum veni futui deinde redei domi</i> ¹⁴⁷	When I came here, I fucked, and then I returned home	Room e, north wall ¹⁴⁸	
2247 Add. p. 215 ¹⁴⁹	<i>Bellicus hic · futuit quendam [l]uculentissim[e] fut[ui]</i> ¹⁵⁰	Bellicus fucks (or: fucked) here a certain one. [I] fuck[ed] most [spl]endid[ly] ¹⁵¹	Room e, north wall ¹⁵²	

2248 Add. p. 215	<i>Phoebus</i> <i>bonus futor</i> ¹⁵³	Phoebus the good fukr (or: Phoebus [is] a good fukr)	Room e, north wall	2182, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2207
[at 2248 Add. p. 215]	Face ¹⁵⁴		Room e, north wall	
[at 2248 Add. p. 215]	Bird with branch (see Fig. 23) ¹⁵⁵		Room e, north wall	
2249 Add. p. 215	<i>Hyginus cum Mysi[-] hic</i> ¹⁵⁶	Hyginus with Mysi[s] here ¹⁵⁷	Room e, north wall	If <i>Mysis</i> : 2250 Add. p. 215
2250 Add. p. 215	<i>Ceus cum Mysine</i> [------] <i>etsi cum qua miserus</i> ¹⁵⁸	Ceus [= Caius? = Ceius?] with Mysis . . . although with whom [I am] wretched ¹⁵⁹	Room e, north wall	If <i>Caius</i> : 2286; <i>Mysis</i> : 2249 Add. p. 215 ¹⁶⁰
2251	<i>Iarinus</i> ¹⁶¹	Iarinus	Room e, east wall	2181 Add. p. 215, 2205, ¹⁶² 2220
2252	<i>Syneros</i> ¹⁶³	Syneros	Room e, east wall	2253
2253	<i>Cυνέρως</i> <i>καλὸς · βινεῖς</i> ¹⁶⁴	Syneros, you fuck good (or: beautiful Syneros, you fuck) ¹⁶⁵	Room e, east wall	2252
2254 Add. p. 216	[phallus] <i>ratio mi cum ponis</i> <i>Batacare te pidicaro</i> <i>and</i> ¹⁶⁶	When you hand over the money, Batacarus, I'll ass-fuck you . . . ¹⁶⁷	Room e, south wall	
2255	<i>L(ucius) · Annii [-]it</i> ¹⁶⁸	L(ucius) Annii . . .	Room e, south wall	
2256	<i>Beronce</i> ¹⁶⁹	Beronce [=Beronice]	Room e, south wall	If <i>Beronice</i> : 2198 Add. p. 215, 2278 ¹⁷⁰
2257	<i>Froto Plani</i> <i>lingit cun</i> <i>num</i> ¹⁷¹	Froto [= Fronto], slave of Planus, licks cunt (or: Froto [= Fronto] licks Planis' cunt; or: Froto [= Fronto] clearli licks cunt) ¹⁷²	Hallway, west of doorway e	
2258	<i>Victor cum Attine</i> <i>hic fuit</i>	Victor with Atthis[?] fuks (or: fukt) here ¹⁷³	Room d, north wall	<i>Victor</i> : 2209, 2218, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216, ¹⁷⁴ 2294
2258a	<i>Africanus moritur</i> <i>scribet · puer Rusticus</i> <i>condiscet cui dolet pro Africano</i>	Africanus is dying. The boy Rusticus writes. You will learn who mourns for Africanus. ¹⁷⁵	Room d, north wall	

(continued)

(continued)

<i>CIL</i> 4 Number	Transcription (for text) or Description (for images)	Translation	Location ⁸	Name(s) Elsewhere in Brothel
2259	<i>Fortunata XI XV XI</i> ¹⁷⁶	Fortunata II 15 II	Room d, north wall	2224, 2275 ¹⁷⁷
2260 Add. p. 216	<i>Victor valea qui bene futues</i> ¹⁷⁸	Victor, may you fare well who focks well! ¹⁷⁹	Room d, north wall	2209, 2218, 2258, 2274 Add. p. 216, ¹⁸⁰ 2294
2261	Ἑρνῆς	Hernes [= Hermes] ¹⁸¹	Room d, north wall	
2262 Add. p. 465	<i>Rusatia [-]enibus hic Corvenius</i> ¹⁸²	Rusatia . . . here Corvenius ¹⁸³	Room d, north wall	
2263	<i>Severuus</i> ¹⁸⁴	Severuus [= Severus]	Room d, north wall	
2264	<i>Sisininus</i> ¹⁸⁵	Sisininus	Room d, west wall	
2265	<i>Placidus hic futuit quem voluit</i>	Placidus fucks (or: fucked) here who he wished	Room d, west wall	
2266	<i>Ver[---] felas Fortuna sic</i> ¹⁸⁶	Ver . . . you suk Fortuna likewise ¹⁸⁷	Room d, east wall	If <i>Ver</i> : 2269, 2282 ¹⁸⁸
2267	<i>Lucrio amasuc[---] Sarnesis</i> ¹⁸⁹	Lucrio . . . from Sarno[?] ¹⁹⁰	Room d, east wall	2196 ¹⁹¹
2268	<i>Myrtale Cassacos fellas</i> ¹⁹²	Myrtale, you suck the Cassaci ¹⁹³	Room d, east wall	2271 [<i>Myrtale</i> and <i>Ccassi</i>] ¹⁹⁴
2269	<i>Ver et Anedia</i> ¹⁹⁵	Ver and Anedia ¹⁹⁶	Room d, east wall	<i>Ver</i> : 2266, ¹⁹⁷ 2282
2270	Λιβερῶλις ¹⁹⁸	Liberalis	Room d, east wall	
2271	<i>Myrtale Ccassi</i> ¹⁹⁹	Myrtale, Ccassi [= Cassaci?] ²⁰⁰	Room d, east wall	2268 [<i>Myrtale</i> and <i>Cassaci</i>] ²⁰¹
2272	<i>Ampliatius</i> ²⁰²	Ampliatius	Room d, east wall	
2273 Add. p. 216	<i>Murtis ·bene felas</i> ²⁰³	Murtis, you suk well! ²⁰⁴	Room d, east wall	2292, 2293 ²⁰⁵
2274 Add. p. 216	<i>[---]or bene valleas qui bene futues</i> ²⁰⁶	[Vict]or, may you farre well who focks well! ²⁰⁷	Room d, east wall	If <i>Victor</i> : 2209, 2218, 2258, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2294
2275	<i>Fortunata fellat</i> ²⁰⁸	Fortunata sucks	Room d, east wall	2224, 2259 ²⁰⁹
2276	<i>Oaki</i> ²¹⁰	[F]aci[lis] ²¹¹	Room d, east wall	If <i>Facilis</i> : 2178
2277	<i>irrumo set [----] k[---]as</i> ²¹²	I face-fuck . . . ²¹³	Room d, east wall	
2278	<i>[---]nice fellat</i> ²¹⁴	[Bero?]nice sucks ²¹⁵	Room d, south wall	If <i>Beronice</i> : 2198 Add. p. 215, 2256 [<i>Beronce</i>]

2279 Add. p. 216	<i>fuat A II</i> ²¹⁶	fuks[?] 2 <i>a(sses)</i> ²¹⁷	Room d, south wall	
2280	<i>Cris</i>	Cris[sa?] [= Cressa?] ²¹⁸	Hallway between rooms c and d	If <i>Crissa</i> : 2215 [<i>Cressa</i>]
2281	<i>Romanus</i>	Romanus	Hallway between rooms c and d	
2282	<i>Ver</i>	Ver ²¹⁹	Hallway between rooms c and d	2266, ²²⁰ 2269
2283	<i>XVI</i> ²²¹	16 ²²²	Hallway between rooms c and d	
2283a	<i>IC</i> ²²³	99	Hallway between rooms c and d	
2284	<i>he he hac</i>	?	Room c, west doorjamb	
2285	<i>Synethus</i> ²²⁴	Synethus	Room c, west doorjamb	2287 Add. p. 216, 2288
2286	<i>Caius cum F</i> ²²⁵	Caius with . . .	Room c, west doorjamb	2250 [<i>Ceus</i>] ²²⁶
2287 Add. p. 216	<i>Synethus</i> ²²⁷	Synethus	Room c, north wall ²²⁸	2285, 2288
2288	<i>Synethus Faustillam futuit obigerite</i> ²²⁹	Synethus fucks (or: fucked) Faustilla everywhereily	Room c, west wall	<i>Synethus</i> : 2285, 2287 Add. p. 216
2289	<i>Cor Is</i>	Cor 1.5(asses)[?] ²³⁰	Hallway between rooms b and c	
2290	<i>Castrensis</i> ²³¹	Castrensis	Room b, west doorjamb	2180
2291	<i>quis</i>	who	Room b, west doorjamb	

(continued)

(continued)

<i>CIL</i> 4 Number	Transcription (for text) or Description (for images)	Translation	Location ⁸	Name(s) Elsewhere in Brothel
2292	<i>Murtis</i> · <i>felatris</i> ²³²	Murtis the suktress ²³³	Hallway, west wall	2273 Add. p. 216, 2293 ²³⁴
2293	<i>Mur</i> ²³⁵	Mur[tis?] ²³⁶	Hallway, west wall	If <i>Murtis</i> : 2273 Add. p. 216, 2292
2294	<i>Victor</i> <i>haec sor</i> ²³⁷	Victor these things . . .	Hallway, west wall	2209, 2218, 2258, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216 ²³⁸
2295	<i>Scaudi</i> ²³⁹	Scaudi ²⁴⁰	Hallway leading to doorway 19, east wall	
2296 Add. p. 216	<i>Marci Aniceti</i> ²⁴¹	of Marcus Anicetus	Hallway leading to doorway 19, east wall	Notes of 2200 Add. p. 215 [<i>Markas</i>], 2201 [<i>Marcus</i>], 2235 [<i>Marca</i>] ²⁴²
3101a ²⁴³	<i>Primige</i> ²⁴⁴	Primige[nia? -nius?] ²⁴⁵	Room e, north wall	

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Fisher and Langlands 2009 172, Levin-Richardson 2011b 319.
- 2 Levin-Richardson 2011b, esp. 326.
- 3 For comparison with potential Roman brothels, see, e.g., Lugli 2012 [1947] 20–21; for comparison with potential Greek brothels, see, e.g., Ault 2016 89, Glazebrook 2016 170–173, Trümper 2016 118.
- 4 Prostitution: see especially McGinn 2004 232–239, Strong 2016 147–149; gender and sexuality: Williams 2010 [1999] 296–298, Levin-Richardson 2011a, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a; moral zoning: Wallace-Hadrill 1995, McGinn 2002, Laurence 2007 [1994] 82–101; erotic art: see especially Clarke 1998 196–206.
- 5 See especially Wallace-Hadrill 1995, McGinn 1998, Flemming 1999, McGinn 2002, McGinn 2004, Laurence 2007 [1994] 82–101, Strong 2016.
- 6 Legal contours: McGinn 1998, Flemming 1999 50–56; role in Roman honor: Wallace-Hadrill 1995, Edwards 1997 67, McGinn 1998, Flemming 1999, McGinn 2002 32, Laurence 2007 [1994] 82–101; essential role: McGinn 1998 344–345, Flemming 1999 43–45, Laurence 2007 [1994] 84–85; ubiquity: see especially McGinn 2002 35–42, McGinn 2004, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009.
- 7 For taxation, see McGinn 1998 248–287, McGinn 2002 24–25.
- 8 For the types of individuals who were prostituted in Roman antiquity, see especially Flemming 1999 40–42.
- 9 See Wallace-Hadrill 1995 52–53, McGinn 1998 21–69.
- 10 See, e.g., Williams 2010 [1999] 42–43, 46, 48–50.
- 11 Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31–35, trans. Williams 2010 [1999] 45. When Cato saw the young man exiting the brothel again, according to an ancient commentator on the passage, Cato chastised him thus: “Young man, I commended you on the understanding that you were coming here occasionally, not living here!” ([Acro] ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31–32, trans. Williams 2010 [1999] 45).
- 12 See especially McGinn 1998 194–202. Not dissimilar arguments were put forward to preserve the legality of modern brothels in Italy in the twentieth century; Herzog notes, “attempts in Italy to close the state-regulated brothels popular under fascism were met with hysteria and the argument, advanced by both men and women, that brothels protected the family and also offered young men an important site for learning about sexuality” (Herzog 2009 1300).
- 13 McGinn 2004 15–30, Laurence 2007 [1994] 86.
- 14 Plaut. *Curc.* 482; see also McGinn 2002 32n.238.
- 15 Wallace-Hadrill 1995.
- 16 Laurence 2007 [1994] 92.
- 17 McGinn 2002.
- 18 See especially McGinn 2002 11–13, 16–17, 33–34, and McGinn 2013 611–615, 630.
- 19 McGinn 2002 8–11. Note that Berg 2017 argues that we should look at large quantities of female toiletries, especially when paired with banqueting wares, as an indicator of a place of prostitution.
- 20 Wallace-Hadrill 1995 52.
- 21 Wallace-Hadrill 1995 53. See also the subtypes listed at McGinn 2002 36.
- 22 McGinn 2002 11; note, however, that he treats this requirement rather “loosely” so as to include “all or most taverns and inns showing evidence of prostitution” in his definition of a brothel (McGinn 2004 9).
- 23 McGinn 2002 11.

- 24 McGinn 2002 13.
- 25 Fiorelli 1875 286: “Veniva quindi un lupanare, che se non avesse altri indizi sarebbe riconoscibile dal tetro ed angusto spazio in cui era confinato.” All translations by the author unless noted otherwise.
- 26 Fiorelli 1875 286: “sei quadretti con rappresentazioni oscene; . . . sono graffite moltissime epigrafi che mi astengo dal riferire.” Note that the self-censorship exhibited by Fiorelli may be due to the general audience of the volume; he provides a thorough (if not always accurate; see especially pp. 31–32) report of the structure for *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* (Fiorelli 1862 48–59).
- 27 Fiorelli specifically mentions this parallel (and others) in the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* (1862 59).
- 28 *Sat.* 6–7, trans. Walsh 1997.
- 29 *Sat.* 8.
- 30 Wallace-Hadrill 1995 54; see also Laurence 2007 [1994] 85–86; cf. McGinn 2002 30.
- 31 *Juv.* 6.115–132, trans. Braund 2004.
- 32 See, e.g., *Sen. Controv.* 1.2; *Ov. Am.* 1.10.21, 3.14.9–10; *Sen. de vita beata* 7.3; *Sen. QNat.* 1.16.6; *Mart.* 1.34, 9.5(6), 11.45, 11.61; *Juv.* 11.171–173; note that many more passages discuss prostitutes.
- 33 McGinn 2004 286–287; see also Flemming 1999 40, McGinn 2002 35. For discrepancies between how architectural spaces are represented in Greco-Roman literature and what has actually been excavated, Barbara Tsakirgis (2016 21) reminds us, for example, that while much of the action in Greek comedies is set in kitchens, Greek houses do not seem to have specific architectural spaces identifiable as kitchens. For a modern example of the distinction between established narratives of prostitution and prostitution itself, see Kaye 2010.
- 34 See especially Seifert et al. 2000 (on a nineteenth-century brothel in Washington, DC), Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 (on Pompeian brothels; cf. McGinn 2013 on their approach, however), Glazebrook and Tsakirgis 2016a (on ancient Greek brothels).
- 35 Slaves: see, e.g., Joshel 1992, Camp 2004 (on slaves in the American South), Bradley 2011, Joshel and Petersen 2014; prostitutes: Flemming 1999, McGinn 2004, Åshede 2016; working class: Kampen 1981, Clarke 2003a.
- 36 Flemming 1999 38.
- 37 For an overview of recent work on prostitution in the Anglophone world, see Weitzer 2009.
- 38 Weitzer 2000 3; see also Sterry 2009b 4–5, Brents and Hausbeck 2010 17, Kaye 2010 88, O’Neill and Pitcher 2010 203, Petro 2010 165. For an example of how this plays out in the context of modern migration/sex trafficking, see, e.g., Augustín 2010; for how this plays out in male street prostitution, see Kaye 2010.
- 39 Weitzer 2000 3. See also Kaye 2010 87 on male street prostitution.
- 40 Sterry 2009b 6. See also Willman and Levy 2010 1.
- 41 Sprinkle 2009a and 2009b.
- 42 For the study of emotional labor more generally, see, e.g., Wharton 2009.
- 43 Brents and Hausbeck 2010 16. See also Bradley-Engen and Hobbs 2010 67, 75 on emotional labor and stripping.
- 44 Sanders 2005.
- 45 Hoang 2010.
- 46 Bradley 2011 370; see also Bradley 2011 372 for caveats about this methodology.
- 47 Marshall 2013, esp. 179.
- 48 E.g., McGinn 2002 22–29, with methodology at 22 and 29, McGinn 2004 passim, with methodology at 4–6.
- 49 Flemming 1999 49, 55n.89.
- 50 Feminist approaches to classical literature: see, e.g., Liveley 1999; feminist approaches to material culture: see especially Joshel and Petersen 2014.
- 51 Baird 2015 164.
- 52 Baird 2015 164.
- 53 See, e.g., Kamen 2011.
- 54 See especially Joshel and Petersen 2014.

CHAPTER 1: ARCHITECTURE

- 1 For a brief summary of the structure’s restoration history, see Rispoli et al. 2007 143–146; for details concerning these restorations, see the official documentation of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei that is accessible through the SIAV (Sistema Informativo Archeologico Vesuviano) database at Boscoreale (note that internal reports written for the Soprintendenza in preparation for the 2004–2006 restoration have been excerpted without attribution at <http://infoarte.mi.it/pierre/soluzioni/78-lupanare-e-terme-suburbane-pompei-na.html>). Not all of the SIAV

- documents categorized under VII.12.18 are in fact about the purpose-built brothel: SIAV 6 and 7 concern fixing walls in “VII.12.18,” though at the time of these documents (1896 and 1894, respectively, under Antonio Sogliano), the insula with the purpose-built brothel had been renumbered IV.12 (see, e.g., Sogliano 1908 11); SIAV 10a concerns the “lupanare grande,” which may be VI.14.43 (see, e.g., Fiorelli 1875 461). In cases where more than one document has been collected under the same SIAV file, I mark this with a letter (e.g., 10a and 10b are both filed under document 10, but are not contiguous documents); in cases where a document has multiple pages, I mark this with a number (e.g., the two pages of SIAV 9.1 and 9.2). For damage to the structure during restoration, see Rispoli et al. 2007 143; for damage to the structure during World War II, see SIAV 9 (contra García y García 2006, who leaves the brothel off his list of structures damaged during World War II).
- 2 Fiorelli 1862 52; for more on the coin impression and other marks in the structure, see pp. 44–45. Zajac rightly notes that the interior walls of the upper level are supported by the interior walls of the ground floor; he thus posits that the layout of the ground floor did not change significantly over its history (2008 52–53).
 - 3 SIAV 4.1, Sogliano 1908 11–12.
 - 4 Sogliano 1908 11–12, Sogliano 1909 14.
 - 5 Additional work on the ground floor included replacing exterior doors (see also p. 16) and window architraves (Rispoli et al. 2007 145, SIAV 4.2), consolidating and strengthening the doorway to the latrine (SIAV 10b), protecting the frescoes with wax (SIAV 8, SIAV 11), refinishing the stucco of the transom windows (SIAV 4.3), applying protective coatings to the wooden and metal structural elements (SIAV 4.3), consolidating and cleaning the frescoes (Rispoli et al. 2007 145), and installing modern lighting and clear plastic to protect some of the interior walls (Rispoli et al. 2007 145–146). Note that sometime between the structure’s excavation in 1862 and when the photograph of Figure 3 was taken (around 1870), the interior stucco had been consolidated and wooden architraves added; by the late nineteenth century, metal structural supports were added to the exterior of the upper floor and modern address plaques added to the exterior corner of the ground floor (see Rispoli et al. 2007 fig. 4). I thank Cristina Puglisi for sharing her expertise in nineteenth- and twentieth-century restoration terminology and techniques.
 - 6 Parts of the southern exterior wall were strengthened after allied bombing in September 1943 (i.e., reinforced cement doorjambs were added to the doors in the southern façade to strengthen the wall’s load-bearing capacity, cement was injected into cracks in the façade, and whole sections of this wall were patched with new *opus incertum* [SIAV 9]); in September 1949, the external wall just below the supports for the overhanging balcony and the area above one of the internal doorjambs were reworked with new masonry to strengthen these areas (SIAV 12); Maiuri’s restoration of 1950 added six support pilasters, strengthened exterior walls (especially under the balcony) with iron tie rods, added support joists and new brackets to the areas where walls joined with the overhanging balcony, and substituted several support beams that held up the ceiling of the ground floor (SIAV 4.2–3; SIAV 10b mentions similar restorations – support pillars, structural iron I-beams along the northern exterior wall, replacing wooden brackets with cement ones, and rebuilding part of the east wall with new masonry – but because the document is not dated, it is unclear whether it refers to the same restoration work; see also SIAV 3 [undated], which records the use of iron tie rods to help consolidate the structure).
 - 7 SIAV 4.2, SIAV 10b. The two piers in room f may fall into this category. The pier in the northeast corner of room f was found by the early twenty-first-century restoration team to abut the north and east walls of the room (based on intact plaster on the walls behind the pier), though the fabric of the pier could not be examined (personal communication with Rosario Paone). The pier in the southeast corner of room f was judged to be continuous with the perimeter wall behind it, though it lacks stucco and was built on top of the room’s masonry platform (personal communication with Rosario Paone). The latter two features suggested to the restoration team that it might date to a later phase (personal communication with Rosario Paone). Given the structural importance of this corner for supporting the

- balcony above, it might be possible that the pier was added shortly before the eruption of Vesuvius, when tremors shook the area, or that it was added by Sogliano or Maiuri to support the weight of the reconstructed balcony.
- 8 46.63 square meters (or even less – 40.845 square meters – when the width of interior walls is subtracted); calculated by Amanda Hall from Rispoli et al. 2007 143 fig. 2; these calculations do not include the masonry piers in room f (since it remains unclear if they are ancient or modern), nor the area of entranceway 20.
 - 9 See, e.g., Jansen 1997 133, Hobson 2009 10, 60–66. For further bibliography on Pompeian toilets, see Levin-Richardson 2015a passim.
 - 10 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani hypothesize that the toilet was a later addition to the structure based on the manner in which it interrupts the surrounding masonry. They caution, however, that testing this hypothesis would be impossible due to modern restoration in the latrine area (2009 48). For dimensions of the latrine, see Zajac 2008 39.
 - 11 For the flooring of insula VII.12, see Nishida 1993 71–74. Fiorelli claimed that the ground floor of the brothel had “pavimento di lastrico” (Fiorelli 1862 48), though to my knowledge, no one else has been able to corroborate this; even the most recent restoration in 2004–2006 did not find traces of ancient floor (according to personal communication with Rosario Paone); for problems with Fiorelli’s reliability, see especially pp. 31–32.
 - 12 Pace Dierichs 1997 73, who claims that they are all windowless. For measurements of the brothel’s rooms and windows, see Zajac 2008 28–33.
 - 13 Archival photographs and in-situ stucco confirm that these are all original features.
 - 14 Fiorelli 1862 48: “Una porta che aveva il limine di pietra vesuviana.” Fiorelli mentions that this doorway had iron hinges, as well (Fiorelli 1862 48).
 - 15 Type A3, according to the typology established by Hori 1992 76.
 - 16 For bolt holes in thresholds, see Hori 1992. There are holes close to the center of the threshold, though it is unclear if these are part of a modern locking mechanism; I thank Steve Ellis for his opinion on the matter.
 - 17 SIAV 2 mentions the construction of double wooden doors; SIAV 4.2–3 describes the construction of reinforced cement doorjamb and lintels as well as a new double door of uncertain material; the exterior wooden doors seen today are a product of the 2006 restoration, replacing a set of metal doors (Rispoli et al. 2007 145).
 - 18 The height of one set of doors was 2.35 meters (SIAV 2); the height of the reinforced doorframe erected in 1950 was 2.1 meters (SIAV 4.2).
 - 19 SIAV 5 records the construction of a wooden door 2.188 meters by 1.04 meters for this entrance; SIAV 9 lists post-World War II repairs, including the replacement of a rotten architrave with an iron one, and the construction of 4.2-meter-tall reinforced concrete doorjamb (though one wonders if the height here is accurate); SIAV 4.2 describes a 2.1-meter-tall cement doorframe.
 - 20 SIAV 4.2.
 - 21 Cf. Joshel 2013 106 on locked doors as part of the “geography of containment” of slaves in *villae rusticae*.
 - 22 Fiorelli 1862 48: “chiusa al pari delle altre da una porta di legno.” For room e, see Fiorelli 1862 54.
 - 23 Wooden doors in the brothel: De Vos and de Vos 1982 203, Varone 2002 194–199; doorjamb with graffiti in the brothel: rooms b, c, and e (see further Figs. 24 and 32); implications of graffiti on the doorjamb of Villa San Marco: Baldwin et al. 2013 156.
 - 24 Packer 1975 137.
 - 25 Zajac 2008 42–43. For literary representations of cloth in brothels, see, e.g., Petron. *Sat.* 7, Juv. 6.114–135.
 - 26 For discussion of these types of spaces, see especially George 1997, Basso 2003, George 2011, and Fentress forthcoming.
 - 27 George 1997 20.
 - 28 George 1997 17–19, 24, George 2011 389–390.
 - 29 George 1997 19.
 - 30 George concludes, in fact, that there is no way to distinguish these types of utilitarian rooms from each other (George 1997 19, 22; see also Basso 2003 447, Joshel 2013 105, 112).
 - 31 For a catalog of these spaces, see especially McGinn 2004 291–294. While McGinn lists thirteen potential “cribs,” the usual number is nine: VII.4.42, VII.11.12, VII.12.33, VII.13.15, VII.13.16, VII.13.19, IX.6.2, IX.7.15, IX.7.17

- (see, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1995 61n.70, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 25n.210).
- 32 See, e.g., Wallace Hadrill 1995 53, McGinn 2004 215. According to McGinn's catalog, only two have erotic frescoes (VII.4.42, VII.13.16), and five have erotic graffiti inside or nearby (VII.13.15, VII.13.16, VII.13.19, IX.6.2, IX.7.15). Only one has both erotic art and erotic graffiti (VII.13.16). For more on these spaces, see, e.g., McGinn 2004 215–217, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 25–26.
- 33 McGinn 2002 10 (note, however, that he suggests watchmen are unlikely to be the occupants of *cellae* that cluster together [2002 13, 2004 216]), Beard 2008 105–106, Strong 2016 161. Wallace-Hadrill likewise suggests storage as another possibility (see at McGinn 2004 216n.164).
- 34 See, e.g., Varone 2001 14–27, Clarke 2003b 95–113.
- 35 *GdSop* February 3, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 4–5.
- 36 See the caveat above in n. 33 about watchmen and *cellae*.
- 37 A structure found outside Pozzuoli bears some similarities to the brothel as well, but needs further excavation and publication before a useful comparison can be made. Twenty-four small rooms open onto four corridors forming a quadrangle on a subterranean level of the structure (De Caro and Gialanella 2002 30, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 22n.192). The rooms have floors of *opus signinum* and walls of simple white plaster (Basso 2003 454), with the exception of one small fragment of an unidentifiable fresco (see Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 fig. 3). Masonry platforms or supports have been reported in some (or all?) of the rooms, often against the back wall (De Caro and Gialanella 2002 30, Basso 2003 454, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 22n.192 and figs. 4–5). The space has tentatively been identified as slave quarters (De Caro and Gialanella 2002 30, Basso 2003 454) or a brothel (see in Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 22n.192).
- 38 Gatti 1901a 141–145, Gatti 1901b 354–355, Lugli 2012 [1947] 109–114.
- 39 Lugli 2012 [1947] 109–112.
- 40 Gatti 1901a 143, Gatti 1901b 354, Lugli 2012 [1947] 109–111.
- 41 Gatti 1901a 142, Gatti 1901b 354, Lugli 2012 [1947] 110.
- 42 Gatti 1901c 481. Lugli suggest yet another set of rooms was found in 1947 (Lugli 2012 [1947] 114n.80).
- 43 Gatti 1901c 483, Lugli 2012 [1947] 112; for the finds from the first set of rooms that were excavated (namely, Arretine ware including plates), see Gatti 1901a 144–145, Gatti 1901b 354–355.
- 44 Lugli (2012 [1947] 114) thinks that these came from an eating establishment *above* the rooms, though the excavation section at Gatti 1901c fig. 2 shows no evidence of structures above the rooms. Gatti (1901a 144, 1901c 483) posited the rooms were for religious rituals, and Lugli previously argued that the rooms might have been the underground storerooms of a warehouse or private house (see at Lugli 2012 [1947] 114).
- 45 Boni 1904 570–574, Hülsen 1905 192–193, Carandini 2010 33–35, Barraco 2012 89–92, Lugli 2012 [1947] 105–109. Carandini posits up to sixteen rooms total (Carandini 2010 34).
- 46 Boni 1904 570, Hülsen 1905 192, Lugli 2012 [1947] fig. 27. Carandini states that the well-preserved rooms have masonry counters (“banconi di muratura”), and that the less well-preserved rooms could have had them, too (2010 33).
- 47 Boni 1904.
- 48 Slave quarters: Carandini 1988 362–363n.14, Carandini 2010 33–35 (he posits that the owner of the house was Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus); basement of a shop: Coarelli 2005 113; storerooms of a house: Hülsen 1905 193; brothel: Barraco 2012 92, Lugli 2012 [1947] 109.
- 49 For the excavation of this insula, see especially Carandini and Papi 1999; for an architectural summary, see Basso 2003 448–450, Carandini 2010 103–107, 109–110, Lugli 2012 [1947]; for an analysis of the finds, see Tomei 1995; for literary evidence concerning the structures in this area, see Carandini 1988 360–373, Carandini 2010 107–109, and Barraco 2012 67–88. Thirty-four rooms were excavated; adding in rooms projected to be in the unexcavated area brings the total up to sixty-two (see Carandini 2010 336n.37 and fig. 45). In a later phase of the structure, the lower level was directly connected to the upper (residential) level (Basso 2003 462n.21).
- 50 Lugli 2012 [1947] 100, 117.

- 51 Lugli 2012 [1947] 98–99. Other details include that the ceilings were only 2.5 meters tall at their maximum (Carandini 2010 104; Lugli 2012 [1947] 97–98 reports 2 meters as the maximum) and that only one room was found with painted décor – a few simple red pergolas and a Bacchic thyrsus (Carandini 1988 361, Tomei 1995 fig. 8, Barraco 2012 figs. 1–2, Lugli 2012 [1947] 129) – though the lack of further decoration may be due to the state of preservation (see Basso 2003 462n.23). Each room had a drain (see, e.g., Tomei 1995 fig. 7), though their purpose is debated. Basso hypothesizes they functioned in lieu of latrines (Basso 2003 462n.26); Carandini thinks that the drains, combined with a mortar lip where the floor meets the walls (which, he notes, is often found in cooking areas), indicates that the rooms were designed to be thoroughly and quickly mopped (Carandini 2010 104).
- 52 Bath complex: Carandini 2010 106, 109, Lugli 2012 [1947] 122; lararium: Basso 2003 448, 461n.18, Carandini 2010 104, 110; eating/drinking establishment: Tomei 1995 617n.295, Carandini 2010 110, Barraco 2012 80–82. At a later stage, measures were taken to better separate the bathing area of the subterranean level from the numerous small rooms (see Carandini 2010 109).
- 53 Tomei 1995 552.
- 54 Carandini 1988 361–369, Basso 2003 50–51, 460, Coarelli 2005 115, Carandini 2010 12, 98–111. On the possible owners, see also Barraco 2012 73–88. For an overview of the archaeological evidence for large-scale housing of slaves, see, e.g., Basso 2003, George 2011 387–389, Fentress forthcoming. Basso, though ultimately arguing that the space was slave quarters, notes that built-in masonry platforms (as we see in this structure) were uncommon in underground slave quarters (Basso 2003 456, 463n.43), and that the number of rooms and decorative detail (e.g., the bacchic wall fresco [see above, n. 51]) make this structure unique among slave quarters (Basso 2003 449–450; Carandini, on the other hand, uses the lack of even *more* elaborate decorative detail to argue *for* slave quarters [Carandini 2010 104]). For Publius Clodius Pulcher, see also p. 136.
- 55 Lugli 2012 [1947] 118, 120; he posited the existence of an eating/drinking establishment on the ground floor even before it had been found (Lugli 2012 [1947] 122). Lugli dismissed the possibility of the lower level itself serving as an eating/drinking establishment, suggesting that the corridors were too narrow for the intensity of traffic and did not have enough natural light (Lugli 2012 [1947] 117), and thought a hotel/*hospitium* was unlikely as well, since rooms for only one guest (as the size of the subterranean rooms would dictate) were rare in preserved examples of Roman hotels (Lugli 2012 [1947] 118–120).
- 56 Barraco 2012 11, 84–86. This would not be a brothel proper, Barraco notes, but a multi-functional complex that could offer erotic pleasure in addition to food, bath, lodging (2012 10–13).
- 57 Tomei 1995 557–558.
- 58 Tomei 1995 613–615. That the lamps were used in the space itself (as opposed to serving as fill for a later structure) is confirmed by the large number of whole lamps (nearly 200) and the evidence of charring that indicates use (Tomei 1995 613). For the decorated and incised examples of *terra sigillata*, see Tomei 1995 558–594, 596–610.
- 59 Tomei 1995 615–616.
- 60 Tomei 1995 616. A recent theory is that some of the rooms of the subterranean level were put out of use and converted to a kitchen and pantry (see at Basso 2003 461n.18).
- 61 Tomei 1995 615. Barraco also draws attention to the lack of erotic décor in the rooms themselves (Barraco 2012 18).
- 62 Tomei 1995 616–618.
- 63 *GdSop* May 28, 1862 (“si è rinvenuto un letto in fabbrica con corrispondente guanciaie anche in fabbrica” [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 81), Fiorelli 1862 56–57 (note that his first description of the feature [1862 48] is more neutral, however: “un ampio poggio di fabbrica addossato al muro ... con una prominenza dall’uno de’capi a modo di capezzale”). For modern scholarship using this terminology, see, e.g., Bragantini 1997 520, 529, 532, Dierichs 1997 73, Clarke 1998 196, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 9, Varone 2002 194 (though he describes it more neutrally as a “stone pallet” in a photo caption on the same page), McGinn 2004 232, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23.
- 64 Clarke 1998 201–202, 205, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23.

- 65 Cf. the numbers in Zajac 2008 32–33.
- 66 Dunbabin 2003 38.
- 67 Dunbabin 2003 38.
- 68 Mols uses the type of room and finds to determine which of these functions was primary for each bed/couch he studies (1999 124), but acknowledges that both criteria can be ambiguous (1999 124–125, 137). As such, I use the terms bed/couch or sleeping/dining furniture.
- 69 Wooden beds/couches with side- and back-boards from Herculaneum averaged 115 centimeters by 215 centimeters (Mols 1999 38; Dunbabin's average for Roman dining couches is similar, at 120 centimeters by 220–240 centimeters [2003 38]).
- 70 See measurements at Mols 1999 cat. 13 (MAH s.n.); note that Mols suggests the bed/couch from Insula Orientalis II.10 may have been for one person, however (Mols 1999 124).
- 71 Franchi Dell'Orto 1990.
- 72 For Roman dining habits, see, e.g., Dunbabin 2003 39. Mols states that *biclinia* were meant for two individuals per bed/couch, but the support for this statement is unclear (Mols 1999 124).
- 73 Mols 1999 39.
- 74 Mols 1999 167.
- 75 Mols 1999 266–267.
- 76 Function of the *fulcrum*: Mols 1999 126n.775. Note, too, that the bronze caps for the *fulcrum* were often more ornately decorated on one side, suggesting that such beds/couches were placed against a wall (Stefani 2003 362–363). For *fulcra* from across the empire, see Faust 1989. For specific examples, see, e.g., MANN s.n. at Borriello et al. 1986 184–185 (cat. 88), MANN inv. 5150 at Borriello et al. 1986 184–185 (cat. 89), MANN inv. 72734–36 at Borriello et al. 1986 184–185 (cat. 90), and MANN inv. 78614/615 at Borriello et al. 1986 186–187 (cat. 97).
- 77 Mols 1999 40–41, 127.
- 78 Mols 1999 126. Curved side boards: bed/couch from room 8 of the House of the Carbonized Furniture (V.5; Mols 1999 cat. 7, still in situ); the bed/couch from room a of Insula Orientalis II.10 mentioned above (Mols 1999 cat. 13, MAH s.n.). Slanted head board: bed/couch from V.22 (Mols 1999 cat. 9, now located in V.17).
- 79 In the House of the Cryptoporticus (I.6.2); in I.8.8; in the House of Tribus Valentes (III.2.1); and in the House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a) (Soprano 1950 294, 297–299).
- 80 For the decoration of the brothel's platforms, see Fiorelli 1862 48. The platforms of rooms b and d have the best-preserved plaster.
- 81 Close to sixty masonry dining couches have been found at Pompeii (Soprano 1950; Jashemski 1979 346n.1); Soprano 1950 contains a description of all of those found up until the date of his work, including their setting and decoration.
- 82 See especially *CIL* 4.2174 (written while standing on the platform in room f) and *CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465 and *CIL* 4.2247 Add. p. 215 (both written while standing on the platform in room e). See further pp. 51–56.
- 83 Fiorelli 1862 48.
- 84 For visual axes in Pompeian houses, see especially Jung 1984.
- 85 See, e.g., Jung 1984 100 (note that Jung thinks the position of fountains or wells on visual axes is better developed in later houses; see Jung 1984 100–101), Clarke 1991 14–17.
- 86 See, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1994 39–44, Joshel 2013 112–113, Joshel and Petersen 2014 29–36. For slaves in Pompeian houses, see especially Joshel and Petersen 2014 24–86.
- 87 In opening off a smaller street and having a less privileged view to the inside of the structure, doorway 19 might be akin to service entrances at the back of Pompeian houses. If this doorway were primarily a service entrance, it would have reinforced the differential in visual power and control given to clients entering from doorway 18, on the one hand, and prostitutes using doorway 19, on the other.
- 88 On the surveillance of slaves, see, e.g., Joshel 2013 105–107, 110, 114. Note, too, that Joshel identifies “malingering, idling, wasting time, damaging property, thieving, uttering, making noise, and being insolent” as common complaints against slaves. For how slaves could misbehave in the urban environment specifically, see Joshel 2013 118, Joshel and Petersen 2014 87–117.
- 89 E.g., Fiorelli 1862 48, Strong 2016 167–168 (who suggests that clients might have exited on the “back alley” of the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile to avoid the embarrassment of running into female family members).
- 90 For slaves' use of service entrances for their own purposes (e.g., socializing, shirking work), see Joshel and Petersen 2014 98–114.

- 91 Cf. Joshel 2013 120 on slaves using their spatial experience and knowledge of a house to hide out in areas that might not be familiar to their owners.

CHAPTER 2: MATERIAL FINDS

- 1 For the archaeological assemblage from the upper floor, see pp. 86–90.
- 2 For the study of Pompeian finds in their original contexts, see especially Allison 1995, Berry 1997, Allison 2004, Berry 2007, Berg 2017.
- 3 McGinn 2013 624–629. For using archaeological finds to identify places of prostitution at Pompeii, see Berg 2017.
- 4 For the career of Fiorelli, see, e.g., Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a ix–xv, Laidlaw 2007 625–626, Ossana 2015 (with further bibliography). For Fiorelli’s sources, see, e.g., Castiglione Morelli del Franco 1993 662.
- 5 Cf. Van der Poel and Poli Capri on Fiorelli’s *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia*: “It should be remembered that Fiorelli carefully selected certain entries in the ‘Giornale’ [here, the supervisors’ daily journals], while discarding others which he deemed redundant or of minor importance” (Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xvi). The introduction of errors into official reports was not restricted to Fiorelli; on this phenomenon, see, e.g., Castiglione Morelli del Franco 1993 662–664, Allison 1995 152, Berry 1997 186–187.
- 6 *GdSop* June 28, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 11. According to the daily logs kept by the supervisors, Fiorelli was rarely on site, despite a law (discussed further at p. 6) stipulating that he be present at least twice a week (Article II of the *Governo degli scavi: Regolamento temporaneo*, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xxi).
- 7 *GdSop* May 31, 1862 (see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 83); Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 8 Fiorelli describes the findspot as “nella sommità delle terre” (Fiorelli 1862 58), while the supervisors have either “nel suolo” (*GdSop* May 28, 1862 [OR]) or “sul suolo” (*GdSop* May 28, 1862 [CR/CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 81). The supervisors at this time took great care to note the height at which objects were found, as can be verified by other entries from around the same time period the brothel was excavated. For example, in January of 1862, workmen excavating the House of Siricus (VII.1.47) across from the yet-to-be-uncovered brothel wrote that certain items on January 9 were found “all’altezza di circa palmi nove,” and on the next day, more items were found “all’altezza di palmi sei” (*GdSop* January 9 and 10, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b Jan/3), while in another room, items were found “quasi sul pavimento” (*GdSop* January 27, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b Jan/10). Likewise, they note when items seem to have been found at the depth of an upper or mezzanine floor, as was the case with the items found on February 3, 1862, “all’altezza circa di un secondo piano o ammezzato” (*GdSop* February 3, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 7).
- 9 Fiorelli 1873 appendix 9. Some 130 workers and four wagons were employed during the excavation of the brothel’s ground floor (*GdSop* May 27–28, 30–31, 1862; see also at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 80–83); this was about average for 1862, according to Van der Poel and Poli Capri (1994a vi); 42 was the fewest number of workers that year (Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a iii) and 755 the largest (Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a viii).
- 10 This law built on an earlier proposal concerning the management of Royal Bourbon excavations and museums that Fiorelli helped write, but which had not been passed into law (Ossana 2015 230–232). For the full text of the *Governo degli scavi: Regolamento temporaneo*, see *Giornale degli scavi di Pompeii* 1861 73–80, or Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xix–xxvii; for discussion, see Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a v–vii. Note that not all provisions were followed in practice; for example, while the law mandated that copies of the supervisors’ daily reports for a given month be sent out on the first of the following month, in practice this usually occurred (at least in the period I examined) at the end of the following month.
- 11 Article VII (at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xxiii–xxiv). For further explanation of the types of official documentation related to excavations at Pompeii, see Castiglione Morelli del Franco 1993, Laidlaw 2007.
- 12 See Article VII (at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xxiii–xxiv) and the correspondence

- preserved with each month's copy of the *Giornale dei soprastanti*.
- 13 Article III (at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994a xxi–xxiii).
 - 14 Cf. Allison 1995 153 on similar methodological impediments.
 - 15 A full description of the structure's excavation and finds can be found in [Appendix A](#).
 - 16 *GdSop* May 31, 1862 [OR], has *raschiatoja*; *GdSop* [CN] has *raschiatoia*; *GdSop* [CR], and from there, Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 83, has *raschiatora*.
 - 17 That is, on June 11, 1862 (*Librette* May 28, 1862). I am extremely grateful for the kind help of Joanne Berry, Larry Bliquez, Eugene Dwyer, Anne Laidlaw, and Ambra Spinelli in describing how to follow the trail of objects excavated at Pompeii.
 - 18 *Notamenti* June 11, 1862. Of the 132 items logged into the museum on this day, only seven – presumably those of particular artistic quality or didactic value – were given an inventory number. Similarly, museums in the Bay of Naples may have decided which examples of *terra sigillata* to keep based on whether they were plain (in which case they were not likely to be kept) or had stamps or writing (Morel 1979 249–250); cf. Pucci 1997 17–18, however.
 - 19 For the number of lamps, see Morel 1979 254.
 - 20 On July 9, 1862 (*Librette* May 31, 1862).
 - 21 Examination of bronze handles with iron blades in MANN storage did not yield an item with the *raschiatoio*'s inventory number, either.
 - 22 *Notamenti* July 9, 1862. Della Corte (1919 140–141) describes a similar situation about half a century later.
 - 23 *Librette* May 28, 1862. Archival photographs (e.g., Giorgio Sommer no. 1205) confirm that this space was being used for storage of finds.
 - 24 Scatozza Hörcht's catalog of glass vessels still on site at Pompeii does not even have an entry for insula VII.12 (2011 224).
 - 25 Analysis of Pompeian artifact assemblages is often conducted through examination of excavation reports or other official documentation; see, e.g., Allison 1995 154, Berry 1997.
 - 26 See, e.g., Allison 1995 passim, Berry 2007 293–294.
 - 27 See, e.g., Allison 1995 149–150, 167–170, Berry 2007 294. For normal storage patterns at Pompeii, see Berg 2014.
 - 28 Allison 1995 158, Berry 1997 186.
 - 29 See, e.g., Berry 2007 293.
 - 30 Fiorelli 1862 58–59. For the quantity and type of finds normally found in Pompeian houses, see, e.g., Berry 1997, Berry 2007.
 - 31 See, e.g., Berry 1997 187, Berry 2007 293.
 - 32 Berg 2014, 2016.
 - 33 For bodily care practices in houses, see Allison 2004 136–139. For the connection between bodily care and prostitution, see especially Berg 2017.
 - 34 *GdSop* May 28, 1862 (see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 81). For other examples of “forme di pasticceria,” see, e.g., MANN inv. 76278 and MANN inv. 76286 at Borriello et al. 1986 178–179 (cat. 38–39), MAP inv. 14007 (from the House of Fabius Rufus [VII.16.19]) at Sodo 1990, and Tassinari 1993 plate CLXVII.
 - 35 See at Allison 2004 55.
 - 36 MAP inv. 14007 (from the House of Fabius Rufus [VII.16.19]); see Sodo 1990, who suggests that the vessel was more appropriate for table service than for the kitchen.
 - 37 Tassinari 1993 232.
 - 38 Giove 2003 277.
 - 39 Allison 2004 54–55. For ascertaining the function of these vessels, see also Allison 1999 66–67, Allison 2006 25–26. The interpretation of these items as related to cooking can still be found in some scholarly literature (e.g., McGinn 2013 628).
 - 40 Shumka 2008 178–182.
 - 41 See also Berg's discussion of bronze vessels in Pompeian bathing scenes (2010 295–297).
 - 42 For the exact words used in the excavation reports, see above, n. 16. For the meaning of *raschiatoio*, see, e.g., Tommaseo et al. 1872 74; for the size of Roman razors, see Della Corte 1919 141–146, Boon 1991 29. The *raschiatoioi* in Allison's sample of Pompeian houses vary from about 15 centimeters (three examples) to 23 centimeters (one example; www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home s.v. *raschiatoio*). One of these, found in the House of the Smith (I.10.7), has a bronze handle with iron blade (www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home).
 - 43 See Boon 1991. Small toilet knives measure between 11 and 18 centimeters (Boon 1991 21). The brothel's *raschiatoio* is unlikely to have been used for cutting hair, as those blades are larger and came in pairs (Boon 1991 24–27).
 - 44 See Della Corte 1919 141–142 for the razor and Boon 1991 23 for both items. The four

- raschiatoioi* in Allison's sample were found in a variety of locations, from public and prestige areas of the house (the lararium in the front hall of VI.15.5; a large room opening onto the colonnade of the House of the Smith [I.10.7]), to subsidiary areas (atrium v in the House of the Vettii [VI.15.1]) and upper floors (House of the Smith [I.10.7]) (www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home s.v. *raschiatoio*).
- 45 Removal of facial hair by razor: Boon 1991 27–31; removal of body hair by pumice: Ov. *Ars am.* 1.505–508, MAP inv. 6842 (from I.8) at D'Ambrosio 2001 24 (cat. 1), Berg 2016 fig. 2 (from V.4.13); see also Tert. *De Culta Feminarum* 2.8.2; for removal of body hair by plucking, see Sen. *Ep.* 56.1–2.
- 46 E.g., an anecdote from Plutarch (*Vit. Ant.* 1) mentions a bowl of water used in connection with shaving (Boon 1991 23n.13, 27).
- 47 See, e.g., Berg 2017 17. More than 1,200 examples are in storage at Pompeii (Ciarallo 2011 351), not to mention the number of vials, like that from the brothel, sent to the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. For comparanda, see, e.g., MANN inv. 12062 (from Pompeii), MANN inv. 12392 (from Pompeii), and MANN inv. 114890 (from IX.6.5) at Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978 cat. 222; Scatozza Höricht 1986 plates XXXIII–XXXVI; MAP inv. 11906 (from I.18.3) at Scatozza Höricht 1990a; MAP inv. 11907a–g (from I.18.3) at Scatozza Höricht 1990b; MAP inv. 5839 (from outside Pompeii's walls), MAP inv. 11567–11568 (from I.13.3), and MAP inv. 14225 (from the House of Fabius Rufus [VII.16.19]) at D'Ambrosio 2001 29 (cat. 21–24).
- 48 Ciarallo 2011 357–359; only 150 of the approximately 1,900 glass and clay *balsamaria* kept on site at Pompeii still had material that could be analyzed (Ciarallo 2011 352).
- 49 For the terms used in Latin literature and by excavators to identify these vessels, see Shumka 2008 182; for the difficulty in matching names used in literature to the excavated vessels, see Scatozza Höricht 2011 25; for the contents of these vessels, see Allison 2007 346–347 and Ciarallo 2011. For an overview of possible functions, see Allison 2006 22–23, who concludes, “such vessels may have been used for perfumes but this was probably not their exclusive function” (23).
- 50 Credit for this insight is owed to Joanne Berry. For the connection between cosmetics and prostitutes in the literary imaginary, see, e.g., Berg 2017 27–28.
- 51 For literary representations of perfume as a gift to prostitutes, see, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 7 (Musarium and Her Mother) and 14 (Dorio and Myrtale), as well as Ath. 579e.
- 52 For the types of objects described as *bottiglie* by excavators, and some of their possible functions, see Allison 2006 24.
- 53 McGinn 2013 612, 624–626.
- 54 See, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1995 50–53, 55–56, Flemming 1999 43, 51–53, McGinn 2002 11–13, McGinn 2004 15–22, Laurence 2007 [1994] 82–84 92–95, 100–101, McGinn 2013 610–616.
- 55 Lucian *Dial. meret.* 2 (Myrtium, Pamphilus, and Doris): 282.3.
- 56 On these frescoes, see Clarke 2003a 227–233, Dunbabin 2003 53–56, Joshel and Petersen 2014 27–28, Green 2015 147. See also MANN inv. 9015 and MANN inv. 9024. For a list of banqueting frescoes from Campania, see Roller 2006 195–196. For the impossibility of distinguishing between a lusty wife, a prostitute, and a courtesan in Roman visual material, see Strong 2016 118–141.
- 57 Clarke (1998 206–212, especially 212) argues as much for the Caupona of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1); see also Guzzo and Scariano Ussani 2000 14–17 on VII.7.18 and Clarke 2005 273–282 on the Tavern of Salvius (VI.14.36).
- 58 From IX.7.24–5; see, e.g., Cooley and Cooley 2014 [2004] 238–239. Cf. *CIL* 9.2689, a humorous funerary inscription that likewise represents the purchase of a girl in addition to wine and food.
- 59 For the representation of glass drinkware in literature, see Morel 1979 255. Morel suggests that ceramic wares (specifically, *terra sigillata*) were rapidly replaced in the first century CE with silver for those who could afford it, glass for the “modest,” and wood for the poor (1979 250). Ceramic wares, he argues, were fragile, heavy, and associated with poverty (1979 250). For evidence (though fragmentary and problematic) for the price of glass versus terracotta drinking cups, see Morel 1979 262. Numerous terracotta cups and plates with simple slips were found in VII.11.11 (e.g., “una tazza [di terracotta] con vernice rossa,

- alquanto rotta nell'orificio; altra tazza con vernice rossa" [*GdSop* June 10, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 96]).
- 60 For the provisioning of wine to structures identified as taverns, see, e.g., Packer 1978 49–50; note that the brothel does not have evidence for the large-scale sale of drink (e.g., amphorae, more numerous drinking vessels, serving vessels).
- 61 For wooden storage furniture from Herculaneum (and casts of the same at Pompeii), see Mols 1999. Excavators in the 1860s *did* make note of such finds; see, for example, *GdSop* February 1, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 2.
- 62 For wooden tables at Herculaneum, see Budetta and Pagano 1988 cat. 3, 4, and 6, and especially Mols 1999 44–52, 127–129, and cat. 14–19. For the wooden table in the House of the Carbonized Furniture (MAH inv. E 2052), see Mols 1999 cat. 15; for the accompanying wooden beds/couches, see Mols 1999 cat. 7. For the wooden table in the College of the Augustales (MAH inv. E 2236, also labeled MAH inv. E 3149), see Mols 1999 cat. 17, and for the accompanying wooden bed/couch, see Mols 1999 cat. 10.
- 63 Mols 1999 49.
- 64 It should be noted that the floor and the tops of the platforms are in a poor state of preservation, and thus the measurements are approximate; it seems likely that the original heights would have been uniform.
- 65 Mols 1999 129.
- 66 Mols 1999 49, 52. Specifically, two tables have griffins paired with vegetal imagery that (Mols argues) evokes Bacchus (1999 45), while two others have dog imagery meant to recall the hunt (1999 45–46). Another has a garlanded young man, perhaps Bacchus (1999 47). He further notes that three tables were found in dining contexts (1999 127–128), though the attribution of functional context based on the other finds in the room can be problematic.
- 67 Dunbabin 2003 52–56, 63, 128. For the focus on drinkware (over dining ware) in these and other frescoes of banqueting, see Dunbabin 2003 53–66.
- 68 See, e.g., Ov. *Ars am.* 3.209ff. on the expectation that bodily care and beautification activities be carried out in private; see Berg 2016 183–184 on the storage of female toilette items, most likely in portable boxes, in a house's "principal deposit room." A bronze box was found along with a large number of toiletries in VI.15.23 (Berg 2017 23–24 and fig. 7), and the metal fittings (including a lock clasp in the shape of Venus!) of a wooden box were found along with a rich toiletry set in I.11.17 (Berg 2017 26–27 and fig. 9).
- 69 E.g., De Vos and de Vos 1982 203, Dierichs 1997 74, Varone 2002 194, McGinn 2004 232. Impressions of cloth made in the damp plaster of room f attest that cloth was present at least during the renovation of the structure in 72 CE; see, e.g., Zajac 2008 42–43 and fig. 29.
- 70 For mattresses on masonry triclinia, see, e.g., Rich 1881 687 and Ricotti 1987 169; for mattresses on wooden furniture, see, e.g., Franchi Dell'Orto 1990 171, Mols 1999 140.
- 71 Mols 1999 268.
- 72 Ground floor: McGinn 2004 236; upper floor: Varone 2002 194, 213–214, Strong 2016 149, 163 (with hesitation); elsewhere at Pompeii: McGinn 2004 238. For more on the possibility of the prostitutes living on the upper floor, see pp. 92–93.
- 73 See, e.g., Berry 1997.
- 74 Mols 1999 125n.766.
- 75 Mols 1999 140.
- 76 Mols 1999 137, 140; for the multifunctional nature of rooms, see also Allison 2004.
- 77 See, e.g., Packer 1968–1969 147 and Ellis 2012 109–110 on the lack of cooking facilities in a large apartment building at the base of the Capitoline hill in Rome; for the features of common housing stock, see pp. 93–94.
- 78 For eating out as a solution for those who lacked their own cooking facilities, see, e.g., Ellis 2012 110; see further p. 93.
- 79 Pace Clarke 1998 201–202, 206.

CHAPTER 3: GRAFFITI

- 1 I count 134 textual graffiti and 10 figural graffiti in the brothel; for this count, and for a catalog of all of the brothel's graffiti, see Appendix B. Keegan 2011 172 tables 9.3 and 9.4 show that the number of graffiti in the brothel is surpassed only by the Palaestra, Basilica, and three houses (House of the Menander [I.10.4], the House of the Gladiators [V.5.3], and the exterior of House of Jason [IX.5.18]).

- 2 Fiorelli, for example, refused to discuss the brothel's graffiti in his report to the Ministry of Public Instruction (Fiorelli 1875 286). Only 46 of the brothel's 134 textual graffiti contain sexually explicit vocabulary (i.e., variations of the verbs *cunnum lingere*, *irrumare*, *fellare*, *futuere*, *pedicare*, and the Greek βιβεῖν; for Latin sexual vocabulary, see especially Adams 1982, Richlin 1992 [1983]; for Greek sexual vocabulary, see Bain 1991, Henderson 1991 [1975], Bain 2014): *CIL* 4.2175, 2176, 2178, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188 (here *fuit* is given for *fuituit*), 2191, 2192 Add. p. 215, 2193, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2195, 2197 Add. p. 215, 2198 Add. p. 215, 2199 (though the writer only wrote “f,” the reader would surely understand *fuituit*, especially with the fully written out model of 2200 below), 2200 Add. p. 215, 2203 Add. p. 215, 2204, 2210, 2216 Add. p. 215, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2232, 2241, 2242, 2246 Add. p. 465, 2247 Add. p. 215, 2248 Add. p. 215, 2253, 2254 Add. p. 216, 2257, 2258 (here *fuit* is given for *fuituit*), 2260 Add. p. 216, 2265, 2266, 2268, 2273 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216, 2275, 2277, 2278, 2279 Add. p. 216 (note that the reading is disputed), 2288, 2292. Note that I do not include *CIL* 4.2259, which *CIL* presents as having the verb *fellat*, but which Varone argues was misread (Varone 2012 328).
- 3 See, e.g., Langner 2001 22–23.
- 4 Franklin 1986, Varone 2003, McGinn 2004 (esp. 295–302), Varone 2005, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 (esp. 59–67 and tables).
- 5 Varone 2003 202. Male *gentilicia*, according to Varone 2003 202–203: Marcus Anicetus, L. Annius, Corvenius, Q. Hortessius, Nonius; female *gentilicia*, according to Varone 2003 202–203: Anaedia, Aplonia, Cadia, Fabia, Ilia (note that the reading of this graffito, *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215, is disputed), Rusatia.
- 6 Varone 2003 215. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 61–62, 130) suggest that the brothel's Felicia, Mula, Restituta, and Fortuna are servile based on the appearance of these names with indications of servility in other Pompeian graffiti; they acknowledge that more than one individual could have the same name, however (2009 61).
- 7 Varone 2003 195; there is also one graffito written in Oscan, on which, see p. 58.
- 8 Varone 2003 202 with n.33. He additionally notes three names of Celtic origin.
- 9 As do Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 61).
- 10 E.g., Solin 2012 104–105.
- 11 Varone 2003 213; he especially notes *CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465 and 2267.
- 12 Varone 2003 214, Varone 2005 99, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 61; see also Franklin 1986 on names in the brothel that appear elsewhere at Pompeii; cf. Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 91–92 on the difficulty in discerning whether repeated names indicate the same or different individuals.
- 13 Varone 2003 211. For this set of frescoes, see Clarke 2003a 161–170, Clarke 2005 273–282.
- 14 See also Levin-Richardson 2011a.
- 15 *OED* and Klein 1971 s.v. graffiti.
- 16 See, e.g., Milnor 2014 20–23. In at least two cases, writings on the wall are referred to as *scriptorum taedia*, “the mundanities of writers” (*CIL* 4.1904 Add. p. 214 and p. 465, and *CIL* 4.2487; Kruschwitz 2010 211n.27 rightly points out that two other examples with the same beginning [*CIL* 4.1906 and 2461] may not have ended in the same way as the two graffiti above).
- 17 For children, see Huntley 2011, Baldwin et al. 2013, Garraffoni and Laurence 2013; for slaves and construction workers, see Franklin 1991 92–97; for household staff and homeowners, see Benefiel 2010, Benefiel 2011, and Benefiel 2016; for women, see Varone 1994 passim, Woeckner 2002, Keegan 2003, Benefiel 2011 25–27, Levin-Richardson 2013, Milnor 2014 191–232.
- 18 For figural graffiti, see Langner 2001; for a good overview and translation of select Pompeian graffiti, see Cooley and Cooley 2014 [2004]; for quotations from literature, see, most recently, Milnor 2014.
- 19 See, however, Kruschwitz 2010, who shows that graffiti (and especially painted electoral notices) on funerary or religious monuments might have been considered a form of vandalism, and Newsome 2013 69, who suggests that some graffiti – especially politically inspired graffiti in Rome – might have run afoul of laws of *iniuria*.
- 20 Benefiel 2011 35–36; for writing in houses, see also Benefiel 2010, DiBiasie 2015, and Benefiel 2016.
- 21 Harris posits (and later defends) an overall literacy rate for Roman Italy of no more than 20–30 percent of the male population and less than 10 percent of the female population (Harris 1989 260, Harris 2014); for critique,

- see, e.g., Franklin 1991. For Pompeii as more literate than many parts of the Roman Empire, see, e.g., Harris 1989 265–266 (note, however, his caveats about assessing Pompeii’s literacy rates from its epigraphic habit [Harris 1989 260–264]), Franklin 1991 98.
- 22 For this evidence, see especially Levin-Richardson 2013 320–326.
- 23 Harris 1989 233, 239–240, 252–253. On the education of girls, see also Hemelrijk 1999.
- 24 Harris 1989 255–259, Hemelrijk 1999 21.
- 25 Harris 1996 71–72; though this model was developed to explore literacy in Archaic Greece, it applies well to Pompeian graffiti. See also Hanson 1991 and Keegan 2014 59–66.
- 26 Franklin 1991 84; see also Franklin 1991 86. Woolf 2009 57 argues that the repetition of common formulas on brick stamps, amphorae, and other *instrumenta domestica* were “perhaps particularly useful in a world where many had relatively limited reading skills,” and Volioti 2011 144 notes on a lekythos graffito, “people may have been familiar with what the graffito ‘said’ and did not need to ‘read’ it every time they handled the lekythos. What they encountered during instances of handling was the *presence* of such graffiti” (emphasis in original; see also Volioti 2011 150).
- 27 Hanson 1991 168–175, 181–183 (on Egyptian papyri); Benefiel 2011 28 (on Pompeian domestic graffiti).
- 28 For the brothel’s prostitutes as potential writers and readers of graffiti, see Levin-Richardson 2013; for the brothel’s clients as potential writers and readers of graffiti, see Levin-Richardson 2011a.
- 29 In general, I provide only the most likely translation in the main text; for alternative translations of the brothel’s graffiti, see Appendix B.
- 30 For the sensory experience of graffiti, see especially Volioti 2011.
- 31 To my knowledge, this drawing has not been mentioned in print before.
- 32 For the profile that is no longer visible (from the north wall of room e), see *CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215 and Langner 2001 cat. 531 (without drawing); for the profile with potential gladiatorial imagery, see *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215, Fiorelli 1862 49, and Langner 2001 cat. 894 (though without drawing); the third profile has not been published before, to my knowledge.
- 33 Mentioned at *CIL* 4.2248, although Add. p. 215 connects it to *CIL* 4.2249; see also Fiorelli 1862 55, Langner 2001 cat. 1768 (without drawing).
- 34 This figural graffito has not been mentioned before in print, to my knowledge. For possible comparanda, see the vertical and horizontal lines of Langner 2001 cat. 61 (from VII.12.14), or the masts of, e.g., Langner 2001 cat. 2198 (from IX.5.19), cat. 2202 and cat. 2022 (from Rome), or cat. 2208 (Delos).
- 35 See *CIL* 4.2181 Add. p. 215, 2237 Add. p. 215, 2254 Add. p. 216, and Fiorelli 1862 48.
- 36 See Langner 2001 32 (phalluses), 34–43 (human profiles), 65–66 (birds), and 67–70 (ships).
- 37 Note that, for example, *CIL* 4.2192 Add. p. 215 and *CIL* 4.2263 are in shallowly inscribed but wide letters (see Varone 2012 342 and 327, respectively, for photographs).
- 38 Fiorelli 1862 52; for coin impressions elsewhere at Pompeii, see, e.g., the impression of coin dated to Vespasian in the House of the Ancient Hunt (VII.4.48; Descœudres 2007 22n.25).
- 39 For the fabric impression, see also Zajac 2008 42–43 and fig. 29 (he thinks the fabric impression was perhaps from a curtain in the doorway to room f blowing against the wall when still wet); Anna Serotta pointed out the finger marks to me.
- 40 To my knowledge, none of these marks apart from the fabric and coin impressions has been described before.
- 41 Most entries in *CIL*, for example, mention lines, solitary letters, or parts of words that can be found near the graffito being discussed.
- 42 Benefiel 2010 85.
- 43 For reading aloud in Roman antiquity, see, e.g., Harris 1989 226.
- 44 Note that the distribution of figural graffiti differs from that of textual graffiti, in that figural graffiti is found exclusively in southern half of the brothel (rooms e, f, and the southern wall of the hallway).
- 45 Varone 2003 213, Varone 2005 98–99.
- 46 Varone 2003 213, Varone 2005 99. See also Benefiel 2010 69–74 (esp. 69 and 73), who shows that graffiti tend to cluster in areas where people lingered or passed through.
- 47 Beard 2008 240.
- 48 Compare the location of (late antique) graffiti directly across from a set of windows in the

- cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani (Blen-
now 2008 81).
- 49 See also Varone 2003 213.
- 50 For the possibility of couples renting out space
in the brothel, see Varone 2005 99; for literary
evidence of renting or subletting rooms in
brothels to outsiders, see McGinn 2004 38.
Anise Strong inspired the idea of exploring
where the brothel's prostitutes were when
resting.
- 51 The total absence of graffiti on this wall is
strange, since there are a handful of graffiti
directly behind the platforms in rooms c, d,
and e. Structural interventions made to this
wall are not relevant, since neither Fiorelli
(1862 49–54) nor *CIL* record graffiti on this
wall even before the restoration campaign
of Sogliano in the early twentieth century
(on which, see p. 14). Perhaps this wall was
covered in antiquity.
- 52 For the possible implications of doorjamb
graffiti on whether the brothel's rooms had
doors, see p. 17.
- 53 See also Benefiel 2010 72 on graffiti in the
entrance of the House of Maius Castricius
(VII.16.Ins.Occ.17): “graffiti take up most of
the horizontal space of the room, appearing
one after the other as if accompanying those
who enter and cross this space.”
- 54 Varone lists the heights as 208 centimeters and
215 centimeters, respectively (Varone 2012
328–329), though he must have transposed
these, as *CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465 is above
CIL 4.2247 Add. p. 215.
- 55 Fiorelli 1862 54 and Zajac 2008 37 previously
observed that one would need to stand on the
platform to inscribe these texts.
- 56 Fiorelli 1862 49. Varone lists its height as
179 centimeters from the floor (Varone
2012 336).
- 57 112 centimeters above the platform (Varone
2012 340); see also Zajac 2008 36.
- 58 Varone lists the former's height as 60 centi-
meters above the platform (Varone 2012 335);
the 108 centimeters above the platform listed
for the latter (Varone 2012 335) must be an
error, as *CIL* 4.2188 is located below *CIL*
4.2185.
- 59 It is located 84 centimeters from the floor,
according to Varone (2012 340). The Latin
word *fututrix* has been transliterated into
Greek characters here (see also Solin 2012
103). Biville notes that this graffito, along with
others where the final “x” has been replaced
by an “s” (such as *CIL* 4.2292; see pp. 59, 121)
are clues to how words were actually pro-
nounced (Biville 2003 228). For Greek script
and language in the brothel, see, e.g., Varone
2003 195. For more on *fututrices*, see Kamen
and Levin-Richardson 2015a 244–248. Note
that Solin thinks Mola is not a name, but an
appellation, i.e., “mule” (2008 66; see also
Solin 2012 103).
- 60 Newsome 2013 76.
- 61 Williams 2014 496.
- 62 Williams 2014 496.
- 63 See, e.g., Williams 2010 [1999] 292–295,
Milnor 2014 viii and passim, Williams 2014
494–495.
- 64 For a catalogue of all names from the brothel
and their number of appearances, see Varone
2003 199–201 and 203, Varone 2005 97, or
Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 122–123.
- 65 Varone 2003 195, Varone 2005 95.
- 66 Varone 2003 199–201, Varone 2005 97.
- 67 See, e.g., Varone 2003 208 (with caveat at 195n.14
and again at Varone 2005 103 and 106n.15).
- 68 Note that the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216
is not fully preserved. Franklin thinks that the
brothel's Victor was the sign painter men-
tioned in *CIL* 4.1190 Add. p. 204 (Franklin
1986 323).
- 69 *CIL* 4.2212 Add. p. 215, 2221, 2225–2228.
- 70 Varone 2003 212, Varone 2005 98. For the
epigraphic presence of the name Victoria else-
where at Pompeii, see Varone 2003 209.
- 71 For Syneros, see also Franklin 1986 325.
- 72 For the Oscan language, see, e.g., Salmon
1967, Cooley 2002, Varone 2003 195n.12,
Varone 2005 106n.14, McDonald 2015. Fior-
elli posited that Marcus wished to write more
in Oscan, but lacked the knowledge to do so
(Fiorelli 1862 52).
- 73 See also Williams 2014 501, who notes that
even in the brothel, “the historical veracity of
any given graffito cannot be assumed.”
- 74 The noun *pedico* was in fact more common
than *pedicator*; see Adams 1982 123. The graf-
fito could also read “I, Phoebus, ass-fuck,”
though first-person boasts are rare.
- 75 For *CIL* 4.2204, see also above, n. 59, and
pp. 121–122.
- 76 Some scholars take the *calos* of *CIL* 4.2179 as a
transliteration of the Greek adverb καλῶς,
translating the graffito then as “Bravo Paris!”
(e.g., Biville 2003 233).

- 77 Translation Williams 2014 497. While most scholars take the last word as *moribus*, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 62, 145 repeat *CIL*’s original transcription of *horibus*; see further Appendix B. For other appearances of the name Restituta outside the brothel, see, e.g., Varone 2003 209.
- 78 De Vos and de Vos 1982 203, McGinn 2004 44n.214, Solin 2008 66, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 62n.377, Williams 2010 [1999] 41, Williams 2014 497.
- 79 Varone reads this as *salve Ilia*, “hail Ilia!” (Varone 2005 97, Varone 2012 340); see further Appendix B.
- 80 Franklin suggests that this graffito was part of a series of inflammatory statements between Salvius and Ikarus (of *CIL* 4.2177) (Franklin 1986 326).
- 81 Mentioned at Fiorelli 1862 49, *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215.
- 82 Langner 2001 cat. 894 (though without a drawing). Because of its location above the graffito *Salvi filia*, “daughter of Salvius” (*CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215; see, however, n. 79 above), Fiorelli took the drawing to be the daughter of Salvius (Fiorelli 1862 49). For the popularity of gladiatorial graffiti, see Langner 2001 45–58.
- 83 For the combination of profiles and text, see, e.g., Clarke 2007 44–49. Biville notes that the spelling of Felic(u)la can indicate how the name was actually pronounced, that is, as syn-copated (Biville 2003 227–228).
- 84 Langner 2001 cat. 531 (without drawing). Nothing – save, perhaps, for a head of wavy hair – can still be discerned on the wall.
- 85 Cf. Benefiel 2010 77 on the difficulty in interpreting whether two male names written near a male profile (with a phallus nose!) in the House of Maius Castricius (VII.16.Ins. Occ.17) can be taken as labels for the profile.
- 86 Cf. Williams’s exploration of how individuals with different levels of literacy might have interpreted sexual imagery (Williams 2014 500).
- 87 Woolf 2009 60.
- 88 Woolf 2009 60.
- 89 Varone 2003 199, Varone 2005 95.
- 90 See Varone 2003 199–201, Varone 2005 97; note that the repeated name Ver is of unknown gender, and so has not been included in this count.
- 91 For the composition of the name, see *CIL* 4.2188.
- 92 This graffito is one of only two that Fiorelli felt comfortable including in his description of the brothel for a popular audience (Fiorelli 1875 286–287; the other is *CIL* 4.2258a). For an analysis of the role of graffiti in local rivalries, see Benefiel 2004.
- 93 Benefiel 2004 357.
- 94 Benefiel 2004 357. Collaborative authorship is not uncommon at Pompeii, as shown most recently by Kristina Milnor in her analysis of poetic graffiti at Pompeii (Milnor 2014 159–174).
- 95 Tac. *Ann.* 14.17. This riot is thought to be the subject of a fresco (MANN inv. 112222) from the House of Anicetus (I.3.23). Moeller 1970 argues that the riot broke out not at a professional gladiatorial match but at a meeting between local *collegia iuvenum*, organizations of elite young men, and it was public meetings of those organizations, not all gladiatorial combat, that were then banned.
- 96 Parlow 2007 218, Beard 2008 268.
- 97 For theta indicating a deceased individual, see, e.g., Mednikarova 2001 and Cooley 2012 359; for mentions of it in literary texts, see, e.g., Pers. 4.13 and Mart. 7.37.2; for the possible origins of theta as a reference to a deceased individual, see Watson 1952. This use of theta was thoroughly incorporated into Roman practice; the Fasti from Antium, for example, record the death of one of the consuls of 154 BCE with a theta (Hannah 2013 91; that the theta indicated death is spelled out in the Fasti Capitolini, which clarify in *m(a)gistratu(m) ortuus*) *e(st)* for the same entry [Hannah 2013 92]).
- 98 Franklin, on the other hand, thinks that the theta was added as a threat to Ikarus while he alive (Franklin 1986 326).
- 99 For those who take it as *condiscip[us]*, see, e.g., Franklin 1986 323n.15, Varone 2002 [1994] 132n.214.
- 100 For greetings in a domestic context, see Benefiel 2011 24–29.
- 101 See, e.g., Mart. 1.34.
- 102 Two mention just the sender (*CIL* 4.2180, 2237 Add. p. 215), three just the recipient (2206 Add. p. 215, 2212 Add. p. 215, 2239).
- 103 Woolf 2009 59. For possible overlaps between letter writing and wall writing, see especially Milnor 2014 159–174; see also Keegan 2014 261.
- 104 Cf. Althusser 1971 162–163.
- 105 For quotations of the *Aeneid* at Pompeii, see, most recently, Milnor 2014 263–270.

CHAPTER 4: FRESCOES

- 1 For restoration of the frescoes, most recently conducted in 2005–2006, see Rispoli et al. 2007 145–146. For modern reactions to the frescoes, see, e.g., Fisher and Langlands 2009, Levin-Richardson 2011b 317–323.
- 2 Helbig 1868 cat. 1506.
- 3 There are traces of a bed draped with fabric (see also Bragantini 1997 fig. 15), and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2000 11) suggest a “prone” sexual position based on the (very fragmentary) legs of the figures.
- 4 Each platform has a line of sight to at least one of the hallway’s erotic frescoes, with the exception of the platform of room f, from which no erotic frescoes are visible. Several frescoes – Priapus (fresco viii) and the two frescoes above the latrine (frescoes v and vi) – are visible only from the hallway, reinforcing the visual privilege given to individuals entering from doorway 18.
- 5 On the larger decorative scheme, see Bragantini 1997 520–539 and Clarke 1998 196–206.
- 6 Fiorelli 1862 48.
- 7 *GdSop* May 27, 1862 (see also in Van der Pol and Poli Capri 1994b 80): “si sono dissepoliti due quadretti osceni.”
- 8 Roman erotic art as a whole was often judged to lack quality (especially in comparison to Greek erotic art), even in treatises on Roman erotic art (see, e.g., Marcadé 1961 128, Brendel 1970 47–48, 68–69). For the lingering myth that all erotic art from Pompeii was censored until recently, see Fisher and Langlands 2011. For early scholarship on the erotic material in the Museo Borbonico (now the National Archaeological Museum of Naples), see, e.g., Famin 1836, Barré 2001 [1877] (also translated into Spanish as Barré 1995 [1915]).
- 9 Helbig 1868 cat. 1506: “eine Analyse der einzelnen Bilder ist überflüssig und unstatthaft.” He did, however, briefly describe the brothel’s fresco of Priapus (Helbig 1868 cat. 505) and fresco v (Helbig 1868 cat. 1506).
- 10 See, e.g., Brendel 1970 42–43, 60, de Simone and Merella 1975 154, Krenkel 1987, Clarke 1998 19–55 (who points out that not all sexual representations fit into this schema).
- 11 Brendel 1970 63–67, de Simone and Merella 1975 154, Krenkel 1985, Krenkel 1987, Myerowitz 1992 137–138. The *locus classicus* for the Roman literary treatment of this tradition is Ov. *Ars am.* 3.771–788, on which see Myerowitz 1992 135–136 and p. 127. For Greco-Roman erotic catalogues more generally, see Krenkel 1985, Parker 1992.
- 12 See especially Clarke 1998; for the brothel in particular, see Clarke 1998 196–206.
- 13 See also the interpretation of this fresco at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 72–73n.179.
- 14 See also Parker’s comment on Greco-Roman sex manuals: “the genre chooses the narrowly heterosexual and phallocentric” (Parker 1992 92; see further his explanation at 104).
- 15 *CIL* 4.2254 Add. p. 216 represents the anal penetration of a male client; for cunnilingus, see *CIL* 4.2257; for fellatio, see *CIL* 4.2268, 2273 Add. p. 216, 2275, 2278, 2292; for *irrumatio*, see *CIL* 4.2277.
- 16 See, e.g., Richlin 1993, Ormand 2009 135–137, 178–181, 250–251, 255–260, Williams 2010 [1999] 191–200, 214–216, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015b 453–456.
- 17 See especially Ormand 2009 142–143, 252–255 and Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 242–244, 248–249.
- 18 On the pollution of oral sex, see Richlin 1992 [1983] 26–30 and passim, Williams 2010 [1999] 218–224. On cunnilingus, see Krenkel 1981, Parker 1997 51–53, 57 (cf. Williams 1998).
- 19 Clarke 1998 227–229; cf. Jacobelli 1995 47, who takes the scene as heteroerotic.
- 20 Prostitutes: see especially Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 21–25; memory aides: Jacobelli 1995 60–65, 99, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 35–36 (cf. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 21); apotropaic laughter: Clarke 2003b 123, Clarke 2005 283.
- 21 Jacobelli 1995 28–29, 78–82, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 78–83; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 23–24 hypothesize that the change in décor was due to a new owner who no longer offered prostitution in the bath complex.
- 22 For eroticism in Nilotic scenes, see, e.g., Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 158–159, Clarke 1998 42–46.
- 23 MANN inv. 27698.
- 24 Clarke 1998 73–82; see, e.g., Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. Res.08.33c (a fragment of Arretine ware) and the Augustan or Julio-Claudian cameo flask from Spain, now in the Ortiz collection.
- 25 MANN inv. 27864; Varone 2001 60 lists the findspot as the “Vesuvius area.”

- 26 This lamp, at one time, was in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst in Munich; see at Vorberg 1966 plate LVIII and Brendel 1970 fig. 44; for a similar scene, see Cyprus Museum inv. 2759, a first-century CE Roman lamp.
- 27 Brendel 1970 61; see also Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 47.
- 28 For the Roman breast band or *strophium*, see Varone 2001 81–83, Olson 2003 203–205.
- 29 For whether penetration is shown, see, e.g., Clarke 1998 203–204.
- 30 Some scholars claim that the position of a female figure astride her male companion shows “empowered” women (because they are on top; see Johns 1982 137, Krenkel 1987), but it has been noted (rightly, I think) that the pose allows for a potentially explicit depiction of the sexual act (Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 144).
- 31 Clarke 1998 216.
- 32 The right-hand fresco from the north wall of room f¹ of IX.5.14–16; MANN inv. 27686 from Pompeii (note that Varone 2001 fig. 49 lists it as MANN inv. 27696); MANN inv. 27689 (original context unknown); Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXII), whose original context is unknown; Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (lower image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXIII), whose original context is unknown; Barré 2001 [1877] plate XIX (lower image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXV), whose original context is unknown. Note that all frescoes from Barré referred to in this chapter are marked by García y García and Jacobelli as definitively lost or likely lost (2001 117–133); that in cases where we have drawings of still extant frescoes, significant differences have been noted that should give us pause about relying too heavily on the drawings in Barré (see, e.g., García y García and Jacobelli 2001 104–105 on the differences between Barré 2001 [1877] XV [lower image]= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XVIII and its presumed model, MANN inv. 27684); and that while the genitalia of the figures have not been included in the French version and reprint (i.e., Barré 2001 [1877]), they have been in the Spanish translation and reprint (i.e., Barré 1995 [1915]). For less explicit frescoes with the woman astride pose, see, e.g., the fresco from the west wall of room x¹ of the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1), the fresco from the south wall of room 43 of the House of the Centenary (IX.8.6), and MANN inv. 27684 from Pompeii.
- 33 MANN inv. 27714; on the décor of the space in which it was found, see, e.g., Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 14.
- 34 MANN inv. 27686. Note that the female figure in MANN inv. 27689 wears a breast band *beneath* her breasts. For a breast band in a similar position, see Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXII).
- 35 Fresco: MANN inv. 27694; see also the fresco from the south wall of room f¹ of IX.5.14–16, in which the woman’s breasts are visible, but only from the side. Terracotta lamps: MANN inv. 27861, whose authenticity is verified by de Caro 2000 83; MANN inv. 109412 from Pompeii. For other examples of women astride with an exposed torso, see MANN inv. 2587 (a bone pendant from Herculaneum); the poor preservation of a first-century CE terracotta medalion (Boscotereale inv. 10528) makes it difficult to ascertain whether the female figure astride her male companion wears a breast band. For this pose on Arretine ware, see, e.g., Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. 6.13.109 and inv. Res.08.33c.
- 36 A terracotta lamp from Herculaneum (MANN inv. 110112) also shows the female figure astride backward, though she wears a breast band and plays the castanets (note that Bailey 1980 69 thinks that this type shows “entertainers, possibly dwarves” and Johns 1982 118–119 agrees). For similar scenes on terracotta lamps beyond the Bay of Naples, see, e.g., British Museum 1971.4–26.10 (= Q 924), 1971.4–26.12 (= Q 916), 1971.4–26.23 (= Q 1079), all from Roman Italy, at Bailey 1980 69–70 and fig. 71; Nyon Musée Historique inv. 126, from the first half of the first century CE, at Leiboldgut 1977 cat. 172.
- 37 For an example that additionally shows female genitalia, see the fresco from the west wall of room f¹ of IX.5.14–16.
- 38 Scholars have hypothesized that room x¹ was a favored cook’s bedroom (e.g., Clarke 1993 285, Clarke 1998 174, 177) or a room for the sale of sex (see, e.g., Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 75, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 28; cf. Clarke 1998 174). For a similar pose, see also Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. Res.08.33h (an Arretine fragment).

- 39 MANN inv. 27697 (note that Marini 1971 45 gives the inventory number as 27705). For the popularity of this pose, see Bailey 1980 65 (on Roman lamps in particular) and Jacobelli 1995 47.
- 40 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXII (left-hand image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXX); Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXII (right-hand image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXI).
- 41 MANN inv. 27865; De Simone and Merella 1975 105 list the origin as Herculaneum, and the inventory number as 27862; Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 88 and Varone 2001 60 list the origin as Pompeii. For the popularity of this particular pose on lamps, see Leibundgut 1977 162–163. This variation can also be seen in Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. Res.08.33d (an Arretine fragment).
- 42 D'Avino n.d. 59. For similar scenes on lamps outside the Bay of Naples, see, e.g., British Museum 1865.11–18.245 (= Q 882) at Bailey 1980 65 and fig. 69; and the first-century CE examples from Zürich, currently in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (inv. 4534 and inv. 39159) and an example from Vidy, currently in Musée Romain inv. 62.Q.49, all at Leibundgut 1977 cat. 175 (see further Leibundgut 1977 163).
- 43 For the Warren Cup, see, e.g., Clarke 1993, Clarke 1998 61–72, Pollini 1999. For other male–male versions of this pose, see, e.g., Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. 13.109 and inv. Res.08.33f (both fragments of Arretine ware), and side B of the Ortiz flask.
- 44 Antiquarium Comunale inv. 13694. A terracotta fragment now in Berlin (Antikensammlung inv. V.I.4991) shows a male figure penetrating a female figure from behind, with the female figure's breasts and vulva clearly delineated; for early examples of this pose, see, e.g., the fourth-century BCE bronze mirror cover from Corinth (Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. 08.32c) or the second-century BCE fragmentary terracotta rhyton from Delos (Archaeological Museum inv. B.7461).
- 45 For the popularity of this position, see, e.g., Bailey 1980 65–68 and figs. 69 and 70 (Roman lamps from Italy), Jacobelli 1995 48–50, Clarke 1998 229–230. A poorly preserved fresco from the summer triclinium of I.13.16 also shows this pose.
- 46 For a fresco that similarly hides views of breasts and genitalia in this pose, see the left-hand fresco from the north wall of room f¹ of IX.5.14–16; in MANN inv. 27690 from the House of the King of Prussia (VII.9.33), the female figure clearly wears a breast band, though it is unclear how much of the male genitals can be seen.
- 47 MANN inv. 27696; Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXII). See also one of the scenes in a Nilotic mosaic from Rome (MANN inv. 12286), in which the male figure's large penis can be clearly seen, as can the woman's breasts.
- 48 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXII). The breasts of the figure in the other fresco (MANN inv. 27696) are either small, poorly rendered, or the figure is not female.
- 49 MANN inv. 27862 (note that the image is reversed at Marcadé 1961 101, and De Simone and Merella 1975 105 list this as MANN inv. 27865 and its origin as Pompeii, though Varone 2001 61 lists the origin as Herculaneum); British Museum 1971.4–26.3 (= Q 828) at Bailey 1980 68, 148, and fig. 70. This position was not uncommon on Roman lamps from Italy: see British Museum 1814.7–4.35 (= Q 922), 1865.11–18.241B (= Q 1078), 1971.4–26.8 (= Q 880) at Bailey 1980 68 and fig. 70. Examples from the provinces include Nyon Musée Historique inv. 127 and Genf Musée d'Art et d'Histoire inv. C.1476, both from the first half of the first century CE, at Leibundgut 1977 cat. 176.
- 50 MANN s.n. (see, e.g., Marcadé 1961 67, Marini 1971 79, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 102, de Caro 2000 57; note that Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 51 reproduce this image backward); note that the female figure *does* wear a breast band.
- 51 MANN inv. 109413. For other examples of this pose on lamps from Roman Italy, most of which are dated to the first century CE, see British Museum 1814.7–4.38 (= Q 804), 1836.2–24.478A (= Q 937), 1971.4–26.5 (= Q 800), 1971.4–26.7 (= Q 806), 1971.4–26.16 (= Q 980) at Bailey 1980 68–70 and fig. 71; Bailey notes, “All the figures are large-headed, and may be dwarf entertainers, rather than badly-modelled lovers” (1980 70).
- 52 Augst Römerhaus und Museum inv. 60.8761 at Leibundgut 1977 cat. 177. Berlin Antikensammlung 1960.34 (at Brendel 1970 57 and

- fig. 35), a third-century CE vessel from Pergamon, separates the bodies of the male and female figures enough to make room for the male figure's enormous penis, which appears about to penetrate the female figure.
- 53 See similarly Parker 1992 104 on Hellenistic sex manuals, which he argues create “a carefully delimited sexual cosmos.”
- 54 See, e.g., Bergmann 1994, Bergmann 1996, Trimble 2002. Clarke 1998 and Pollini 1999 posit a similar paradigm for viewers of the sex scenes on the Warren cup and Arretine ware.
- 55 For the roles of erotic art vis-à-vis the master-slave relationship, see especially Severy-Hoven 2012 and Green 2015.
- 56 Parker 1992 104.
- 57 See, e.g., Clarke 1998 223–226 on scene IV.
- 58 The garland in fresco vii is poorly preserved, but part remains in the top right corner of the fresco.
- 59 Whether fresco iii originally had objects beyond the bed/couch and garland is unknown due to damage.
- 60 On the lampstand, see also Bragantini 1997 520, Dierichs 1997 75, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 89, Clarke 1998 201, 203.
- 61 For the inclusion of vessels in these frescoes, see also Bragantini 1997 527–528, Dierichs 1997 75, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 93, Clarke 1998 201.
- 62 Some of these items had known erotic connotations: for eroticism and lamps, for example, see de Simone and Merella 1975 104, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 89, Varone 2001 81–84, McClure 2003a 74, 213n.45; the basins and pitchers may have evoked the symposium (see, e.g., Clarke 1998 116) or the “*mondo privato e intimo del mundus muliebris*” (Berg 2010 298).
- 63 For the implications of the scroll, see further Clarke 1998 222–223.
- 64 See also Clarke 1998 172–173 on this room: “the artist chose to eliminate all other elements of the setting: everything is at its simplest, from the indication of the bed's legs and their shadows to the modeling of the figures themselves.”
- 65 MANN inv. 27690. Other explicit frescoes currently in the Secret Cabinet: MANN inv. 27684 (this fresco has an aperture [window?] looking out onto a large tree in the background), MANN inv. 27686 (note that Varone 2001 fig. 49 lists it as MANN inv. 27696; the background of the fresco may depict a join between the ceiling and wall), MANN inv. 27689, MANN inv. 27694 (this fresco has drapery over the bed/couch), MANN inv. 27696 (drapery can be seen behind the bed/couch), MANN inv. 27697 (note that Marini 1971 45 gives the inventory number as 27705, and drapery is visible behind the bed/couch), MANN s.n. (see, e.g., Marcadé 1961 67, Marini 1971 79, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 102, de Caro 2000 57; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 51 reproduce this image backward).
- 66 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXII (right-hand image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXI). One might add to this list the sexually suggestive fresco from the north wall of peristyle of House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26), now in MANN (inv. 110569). Whether there are objects in the fresco from the summer triclinium of I.13.16 is unclear, although it has indications of an interior setting (opened door and drapery).
- 67 Note that Pollini 1999 40 interprets the painting within each fresco as a voyeur's window. For the decorative scheme of the room, see Clarke 1998 161–169, Pollini 1999 40, Varone 2001 66–73.
- 68 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXII). The serving figure in this and other images are discussed on p. 79.
- 69 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (lower image) and plate XIX (lower image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plates XXIII and XXV).
- 70 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXII (left-hand image) and plate XXIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plates XXX and XXXII). If we were to add sexually suggestive frescoes to this list, slippers and a footstool can be seen under the bed/couch in a fresco from the south wall of room 11 of the House of the Beautiful Impluvium (I.9.1; on this fresco, see further Clarke 1998 148–153 and fig. 49).
- 71 MANN inv. 27864.
- 72 D'Avino n.d. 59.
- 73 MANN inv. 25847/15.
- 74 Compare the array of items on the Flavian mirror cover (Antiquarium Comunale inv. 13694) discussed above: a *pinax* and a basket hang on the wall; a footstool with slippers, basin, and pitcher stand under the bed; and there is even a mouse drinking from

- the basin and a puppy on a low stool! Clarke suggests that these items “may be attempts to personalize the scene and tell us something about the owner” (Clarke 2003b 45).
- 75 Bragantini 1997 520–521. For the frescoes of the Villa della Farnesina, see especially Andreae 1969, Bragantini and de Vos 1982, Ling 1991 *passim*, Bergmann 1995 102–107, Clarke 1998 93–107, Sanzi di Mino 1998, Varone 2001 74–80, Leach 2004 137–142, Wyler 2006.
- 76 Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) inv. 1188, from the northeast antechamber wall. For other furnishings in this series of frescoes, see Levin-Richardson 2009 55–60.
- 77 Clarke 1998 201–203, 205, Clarke 2003b 64, Clarke 2014 520. Barré made a similar argument about one of the now-lost frescoes from Pompeii (Barré 2001 [1877] plate XIX [lower image] = Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXV), describing the furnishings in the fresco – especially a lampstand and bed/couch – as elegant, and the attitude of the male figure as gracious. This confirmed, for Barré, that the fresco was not meant to represent a brothel (Barré 2001 [1877] 100 = Barré 1995 [1915] 116–117).
- 78 Clarke 1998 201–202, 205, Clarke 2003b 64, Clarke 2014 519–520.
- 79 Clarke 1998 201, 203, 205, Clarke 2003b 65, Clarke 2014 520.
- 80 Clarke 2003b 65; see also Clarke 1998 201–202, 204–205, Clarke 2014 519–520.
- 81 Clarke 1998 201–202, 204–206, Clarke 2003b 67, Clarke 2014 519–520.
- 82 See, e.g., Varone 2001 72, McGinn 2002 20, Varone 2002 200, McGinn 2004 114–115. Cf. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 12, 52.
- 83 For an example of the interpretive gains that come from comparison of a structure’s decorative program with its archaeological finds, see Bergmann 2013 on the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale.
- 84 See further pp. 26, 38.
- 85 See pp. 24–27.
- 86 See further pp. 33–36.
- 87 See further p. 37.
- 88 See further pp. 36, 51, 56, 63, 100–101.
- 89 See also Green 2015 152. The exception is fresco v: Clarke notices that the female figure standing next to the bed might give the impression of a servant, presumably based on her stiff pose in contrast to that of the reclining male figure (Clarke 1998 202; for more on pose and status, see p. 78). Both Clarke (1998 202) and Varone (2001 72–73) suggest she is a higher-class prostitute.
- 90 For various ways of identifying slaves in Roman art – including the depiction of individuals in chains and specific types of servile haircuts or dress – see, e.g., Pollini 1999 30–31, 33–35, George 2013 4–5, Lenski 2013.
- 91 See especially Lenski 2013 on slaves in Roman art (and culture) as essentially “living tools.”
- 92 MANN inv. 120029.
- 93 In other banqueting scenes from Pompeii and Herculaneum, individuals are shown waiting attentively, usually at the margins of the composition, holding fans (fresco from the east wall of room g of the House of the Chaste Lovers [IX.12.6–7]), wine ladles (destroyed fresco from IX.1.22; see Clarke 2003a fig. 134 for a drawing and Dunbabin 2003 54 for the observation of the ladle), boxes, perhaps for jewelry (MANN inv. 9024 from Herculaneum and MANN inv. 120031 from the House of the Triclinium [V.2.4]; for the object held in the latter fresco, see Clarke 2003a 243, Joshel and Petersen 2014 28), and wine pitchers (MANN inv. 120031 from the House of the Triclinium [V.2.4]). For comparanda from the plastic arts, see Lenski 2013 136–146; for more on the roles of slaves at banquets, see especially D’Arms 1991 and Joshel and Petersen 2014 37–68.
- 94 Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) inv. 1188, from the northeast antechamber wall. This pose can be seen in the bronze “*peplophorai*” statues from the Villa of the Papyri, which have been reidentified as *hydrophorai* (MANN inv. 5604–5, 5619–21; see de Caro 1996 294).
- 95 For *ministri* in Latin literature, see, e.g., Mart. 2.43, 7.50, 9.22, 9.25, 9.56, 9.103, 10.98, 11.26. For the nude slave, see also Clarke 1998 103–104 and Green 2015 147–148.
- 96 Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) inv. 1188, from the northeast antechamber wall; see also Clarke 1998 100 on the servile figure.
- 97 Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) inv. 1187, from the southwest antechamber wall; see also Clarke 1998 105 on the serving figures in this fresco.
- 98 Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) inv. 1187.
- 99 See, e.g., Clarke 1998 107, Green 2015 149.

- 100 See, e.g., Trimble 2002 233.
- 101 Green 2015 144, 149, 152, 158. Cf. Varone 2001 75–78, who suggests that the inclusion of slaves in these images “apparently heightens a scene’s erotic charge.”
- 102 See further Levin-Richardson 2009 67–102, esp. 89–99 and 102.
- 103 Green 2015 149.
- 104 See also Green 2015 150, 152.
- 105 MANN inv. 110569.
- 106 Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXII); Barré 2001 [1877] plate XVIII (lower image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXIII); Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXII (left image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXX); Barré 2001 [1877] plate XXIII (upper image) (= Barré 1995 [1915] plate XXXII). For the slaves in these images, see further Barré 2001 [1877] 93–95, 108, 110–111 (= Barré 1995 [1915] 108–111, 126, 132), and García y García and Jacobelli 2001 117.
- 107 Green 2015 149, 151–152.
- 108 For how this process of identification may have worked, see, e.g., Myerowitz 1992 150–155.
- 109 Plaut. *Cuc.* 35–38 is the most succinct representation of these expectations: “So long as you stay away from brides, widows, unmarried women, (male) youths and free boys, love whom you like” (trans. Ormand 2009 134; on this passage, see also, e.g., Richlin 1993 562; for laws surrounding Roman sexual acts, see, e.g., Ormand 2009 176–182).
- 110 For imagery of Priapus, see *LIMC* VIII.1, 1997, pp. 1028–1044, s.v. Priapos (Wolf-Rüdiger Megow), and Stewart 1997. For Priapus indicating prosperity, see, e.g., Kellum 2015 204 (on the fresco of Priapus in the House of the Vettii); for an apotropaic function, see, e.g., Clarke 1998 174 (on the same fresco); for fertility, see, e.g., Clarke 1998 175–177 (on the fountain of Priapus in the House of the Vettii’s garden). For Priapus’s role in Roman sexuality, see Richlin 1992 [1983]; for his role in the ideological tensions of the early Empire, see Stewart 1997.
- 111 The closest comparison of the 121 representations of Priapus catalogued in *LIMC* is a bronze statuette of Priapus holding a drinking horn in either hand, which was part of a statuary group with Venus (Weissenburg Römermuseum 1981.4378/4384 at *LIMC* VIII.2, 1997, p. 686, no. 85, s.v. Priapos).

- 112 Clarke 1998 199–200.
- 113 Varone 2002 199.
- 114 For this fresco representing a statue, see Moorman 1988 cat. 255; Stewart notes that it is much more common for Priapus to be shown on a rustic (or rusticated) base (Stewart 1997 579–583). For the function of statues of Priapus in the literary imagination, see especially the poems of the Priapic Corpus (*Carmina Priapea*), as well as Richlin 1992 [1983] and Stewart 1997.

CHAPTER 5: UPPER FLOOR

- 1 Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 2 MANN inv. 119069.
- 3 Fiorelli 1862 58; Paul the Deacon 13.2.
- 4 In the properties nearest the brothel, for example, bronze bells were found in shops VII.1.44 and VII.1.45 across the Vicolo del Lupanare (*GdSop* March 31, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 48; *GdSop* March 18, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 41); in the House of Siricus also across the Vicolo del Lupanare (VII.1.47; *GdSop* May 26, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 79); and in the wool-working establishment next door at VII.12.17 (*GdSop* June 28, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 113). Fifty-seven whole bronze bells were found just in the years between 1861 and 1872 (Fiorelli 1873 170), not to mention bells found in a fragmentary state (Fiorelli 1873 168).
- 5 See also Rispoli et al. 2007 fig. 4, a photograph of the exterior taken by Gustave Eugène Chauffourier in the late nineteenth century; the photograph may come from the private collection of Ernesto de Carolis (according to private communication with Rosario Paone in 2018), as it cannot be found in the photographic archives of Pompeii, the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, the SIAM database, nor in the Alinari or Getty databases.
- 6 For the model, see David 2002.
- 7 Examination of the upper floor confirms the survival of the exterior walls, which still have some remaining frescoes, while the interior walls are almost entirely reconstructed and devoid of frescoes. An exception is room o, which has a small patch of plain white plaster on the interior face of its northern wall; the

- stucco may have been reattached to a modern wall, however.
- 8 For a summary of restoration work since discovery, see Rispoli et al. 2007 143–146.
 - 9 See, e.g., Sogliano 1906 11 and especially Sogliano 1907 10–15.
 - 10 See, e.g., Sogliano 1907 7–10.
 - 11 Sogliano 1907 8.
 - 12 Sogliano 1907 9.
 - 13 Sogliano 1908 11.
 - 14 Sogliano 1908 11–12.
 - 15 Sogliano 1909 14. He even postulated that these internal walls originally may have been of wood, based on the lack of any other material traces of them as well as the lack of visible attachment to the external walls (Sogliano 1909 14). Zajac notes what appear to be blocked doorways in some of these reconstructed walls (Zajac 2008 56 and figs. 40 and 41); Steven Ellis tells me that these were common in restorations-in-progress during this time period (personal communication 2017). In our structure, they may have provided access to the upper-floor rooms before the balcony had been completed, or even afterward, since the balcony was not restored to full height (see pp. 83–84); for the implications if the doorways were original, however, see Zajac 2008 58.
 - 16 Sogliano 1909 14–15.
 - 17 Sogliano 1909 15.
 - 18 Sogliano 1909 15.
 - 19 The need to adequately support the balcony – even in its partially built state – often resulted in structural interventions on the ground floor (especially the southern wall); see, e.g., the report of repairs made after Allied bombing of Pompeii in September 1943 (SIAV 9); the restoration report from September 1949 (SIAV 12); Maiuri’s restoration campaign in 1950 (SIAV 4); and the undated report SIAV 10b.
 - 20 SIAV 4; for a summary, see Rispoli et al. 2007 143.
 - 21 SIAV 4.1: “l’esemplare più interessante e singolare dell’antica edilizia private pompeiana.”
 - 22 SIAV 4.1–2.
 - 23 SIAV 4.3–4.
 - 24 Maiuri gives the width of Sogliano’s balcony as 90 centimeters, and his own balcony as 110 centimeters (SIAV 4.3). Further restoration work by Maiuri on the upper floor included patching walls with concrete mortar (SIAV 4.4), replacing some wooden architraves that were old or rotten (SIAV 4.4), and using iron ties to make the upper floor structurally sound (SIAV 4.4).
 - 25 SIAV 9.
 - 26 SIAV 4.2; these reinforced concrete architraves and doorframes each measured 2.1 meters tall.
 - 27 Fiorelli claimed that this entranceway had “pavimento di lastrico” (Fiorelli 1862 58), though if this is the case, nothing of it survives (personal communication with Rosario Paone confirms that none was found during the 2004–2006 restoration either); for questions concerning Fiorelli’s reliability, see pp. 31–32.
 - 28 Pace Guzzo and Scarano Ussani, who refer to the two floors as “collegati da una scala interna” (2000 9, 2009 23).
 - 29 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 48 suggest that it is the same design as the latrine in the brothel proper, although Zajac noticed a terracotta drainpipe in this latrine that was lacking in the latrine in the brothel proper (Zajac 2008 50). *CTP V* mistakenly labels this space a *cella meretricia* (356). For measurements of this space and the toilet, see Zajac 2008 49–50.
 - 30 Fiorelli 1862 58.
 - 31 For dimensions, see Zajac 2008 52.
 - 32 Zajac additionally notes that the layout of the upper floor rooms is largely dependent on the layout of the ground floor’s support walls (2008 52). McGinn calls rooms p and q *triclinia* (or “dining/entertainment facilities”) based on their large size and shape, as well as the presence of frescoes (2013 627).
 - 33 The upper floor’s features are not unusual for upper floors in the towns around the Bay of Naples. Nishida and Hori’s examination of the brothel’s insula (VII.12) found that a majority of properties (sixteen of twenty-seven, by their count) have evidence of an upper floor (Nishida and Hori 1992 53; see also Hori 1993 fig. 1). As Hori notes, upper floors in insula VII.12’s residential structures are often (but not always) located on the street side of the property (Hori 1993 22), and their possible functions (depending on their decoration and how they were accessed) include housing for slaves, reception rooms, storage, and sleeping or private areas for the owners (Hori 1993 22–23). Next door to the brothel, for example, in VII.12.21, an upstairs unit was

- accessed via an internal staircase through a locked courtyard to the right of the main entrance (Hori 1992 80). Hori does not come to a definitive conclusion about its function (Hori 1993 23), but given the relatively easy access close to the entrance, and its ability to be locked, perhaps it was one or more rental units.
- 34 Zajac 2008 55. Modern restoration makes assessing the thresholds of rooms m and n difficult; Chauffourier’s photograph (Rispoli et al. 2007 fig. 4), however, seems to show that room n also had a stone threshold.
- 35 For photographs of these walls, see especially Bragantini 1997.
- 36 Note that the frescoes of room o are badly faded and little can be discerned other than the red bands.
- 37 She misidentifies this room as p (Bragantini 1997 535).
- 38 The cork model of Pompeii shows a black socle with alternating panels of red and yellow in the middle zone (see Plate X); Bragantini reports a yellow socle with red middle zone (Bragantini 1997 534); it appears from visual inspection that red and yellow panels alternate above a yellow socle. The northern section of the balcony returned to a white-ground wall with a broad red band separating the middle register from the upper register.
- 39 Bragantini 1997 536–537.
- 40 Bragantini 1997 536.
- 41 Bragantini 1997 536–537.
- 42 For a discussion of the documentation related to the structure’s excavation, see pp. 31–33; for a summary of the structure’s excavation and finds, see Appendix A.
- 43 The size of the stud (4.5 centimeters) makes it unlikely to be part of the lock mechanism; cf. the studs measuring 2 centimeters each on the lock found in room 2 of the House of the Menander (I.10.4; Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4267 at Allison 2006 cat. 148i). Bosses similar in size to our example can be found as part of doors (see, e.g., the bronze studs measuring 4.8–4.9 centimeters each from the House of the Smith [I.10.7; Pompeii Collection CB inv. 5311 at Allison 2006 cat. 1567]) or some furniture (see, e.g., the bronze stud measuring 4.7 centimeters found in room B of the House of the Menander [I.10.4; Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4706 at Allison 2006 cat. 497i; notice that the other items under this entry are smaller in diameter]). The description of our example as “*priva di anello*” (*GdSop* June 5, 1862; see also at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 88) may evoke a ring handle for a door or furniture (e.g., the ring handles found in the ambulatory of peristyle garden C of House of the Menander [I.10.4; Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4318 at Allison 2006 cat. 242]). For more on bronze studs, see Allison 2006 37; for more on ring handles, see Allison 2006 29.
- 44 Villing 2002 278n.187, *pace* Dierichs 1997 73 and Strong 2016 148.
- 45 Villing 2002 294. For Roman-era literary sources on bells, see especially Villing 2002 289n.255. See also Allison 2006 27–28.
- 46 For phallic (and therefore doubly apotropaic) bells, see MANN inv. 27831 (Herculaneum), MANN inv. 27835 (Herculaneum), MANN inv. 27837 (Herculaneum), MANN inv. 27838–27840 (Bay of Naples), MANN inv. 27841 (Pompeii), MANN inv. 27844 (Pompeii), MANN inv. 27853 (Herculaneum), MANN inv. 27873 (Pompeii).
- 47 Whether the in-situ threshold of doorway 18 has markings indicative of an ancient (rather than modern) locking mechanism is unresolved; see further pp. 16, 166n.16.
- 48 For how ancient locks functioned, see, e.g., Connolly 1990 [1979] 31. For more on locks, see Allison 2006 31–32 and figs. 57–62.
- 49 www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html s.v. *caraffinetta*; the eleven entries for *caraffinetta* in Allison’s database (www.stoa.org/projects/ph/databases.html) are all listed with this function. Note that information about the vessel’s shape could help establish function, as square glass vessels are often thought to have been used for storage (Allison 2006 24; for examples of square storage vessels, see, e.g., MANN inv. 114835 from IX.8.6 at Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978 cat. 231).
- 50 See especially Laurence 2007 [1994] 93–95, 99–101.
- 51 At least twenty glass counters were found in the House of the Menander (I.10.4; Allison 2006 395; Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4258 at Allison 2006 cat. 144; see also Allison 2006 plate VIII 8 and fig. 46.1) in addition to bone dice (inv. 4254 at Varone 1990). For gaming pieces in tombs (including a tomb in Le Marche, a tomb in northern Italy, and the tomb of a young girl in Bonn), see

- Allison 2006 24. For counters more generally, see Allison 2006 24–25 and Cool 2016 (who notes that some of these objects may have been architectural or furniture decorations).
- 52 Trifilò 2011 319. In fifth- or sixth-century CE Aphrodisias, game boards were even civic donations (Trifilò 2011 326–327). Note, too, Trifilò’s distinction of games of skill versus games of chance (i.e., gambling); the latter normally involved dice or knucklebones (Trifilò 2011 323–325).
- 53 Steven Ellis has argued the same for drinking establishments (Ellis 2004b, especially 51–52 and 52n.41).
- 54 Berg 2016.
- 55 Fiorelli 1862 59.
- 56 The vessel is described as bronze in the *GdSop* (February 25, 1862 [CR/CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 26), in the *Rapporto* (February 25, 1862), and in the *Librette* (February 25, 1862), but of copper according to Fiorelli (1862 59). The *Notamenti*, from more than twenty-five years after the vessel was excavated, does not list a material (November 26, 1889). Borgongino 2006 cat. 88 has “caldaia di rame.” Note that the description of MANN inv. 119952 (see at Borgongino 2006 215) conflates two entries (nos. 13 and 14) in the *Notamenti*: the former entry is the carbonized field beans found on the upper floor of our structure on February 25, 1862, which were described in the *Notamenti* as in a “rustica scudella” (of unspecified material) 28 centimeters in size; the latter entry is for another food product that was found on November 17, 1870, in a “scudella di terracotta” 25 centimeters in size, from a different structure.
- 57 SAP inv. 18098/B; for identification of the food, see Borgongino 2006 209 and cat. 88; Borgongino adds, “il favino può essere erroneamente identificato come fagioli” (Borgongino 2006 cat. 88) as in the early documentation.
- 58 Fiorelli 1862 59.
- 59 www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html s.v. *bilico*; note that the term could also refer to a balance (see n.65, however, for why this is unlikely in our case).
- 60 For the identification of *tasto*, see Millhouse 1894 and www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html s.v. *tasta*.
- 61 For identification of the term *agucella*, see www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html s.v. *agucella*.
- 62 The height of the hinges are 4 centimeters and 4.2 centimeters, with the hinge plate measuring 6.6 centimeters per side (see further Appendix A); compare this with a furniture hinge from peristyle garden C of the House of the Menander (I.10.4) that is 2 centimeters tall and 5 centimeters wide (Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4317A at Allison 2006 cat. 239) or with a door hinge from the same location that is 5 centimeters tall and more than 12 cm centimeters wide (Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4317C at Allison 2006 cat. 241). For strap hinges at Pompeii in general, see Allison 2006 30.
- 63 One example, which measures 4.3 centimeters tall and 7 centimeters in width, may have come from a window in room 7 of the House of the Menander (I.10.4; Pompeii collection CB inv. 4277 at Allison 2006 cat. 286i).
- 64 Because the only description given for our example is a height of 7.9 centimeters, it is difficult to compare this with other bronze fittings. Depending on the size and shape of the object, it may have been used to reinforce a piece of furniture or a structural element of the building (see the discussion of so-called *guardispigoli* at Allison 2006 26).
- 65 The size of our *bilico* (5.3 centimeters tall) is much more similar to the 4- to 4.5-centimeter-tall bronze door pivots found in the House of the Menander (I.10.4, Pompeii Collection CB inv. 4276 at Allison 2006 cat. 285) than to balances (the other possible translation of *bilico*); for the latter, see, e.g., MANN inv. 74039 from Pompeii (whose length is 31 centimeters; see at Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978 cat. 234) or MANN inv. 116438 from the House of the Centenary (IX.8.3; the length is 26 centimeters; see at Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978 cat. 235); further examples of balances can be found at Allison 2006 456.
- 66 See the description in *GdSop* February 21, 1862 (transcribed in Appendix A; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 20–21). On candelabra, see further Allison 2006 18, 31. For a lampstand with similar decoration, see MANN inv. 78485 from the Vesuvius region (at Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978 cat. 155a; note that the lampstand is 127 centimeters tall).

- 67 For the function of items called *bottiglie* by excavators, see Allison 2006 24.
- 68 For the functions of probes, see Allison 2006 33–34. The size of our item, at 6.6 centimeters, seems small in comparison to most probes, however; see, e.g., MAP inv. 11286a–e (from I.11.15) at Pagano 1990.
- 69 For the range of uses of shells, from musical instruments to holding cosmetics to decoration to food, see Allison 2006 35. Regarding the shells found in insula I.10, for example, Allison summarizes, “while some of the contents of these shells may once have been eaten, their associations in these houses indicate that they were probably reused as cosmetics containers or for jewellery, but possibly also as keepsakes” (Allison 2006 385).
- 70 www.stoa.org/projects/ph/glossary.html s.v. *agucella*.
- 71 For snails as food, see, e.g., Allison 2006 35.
- 72 Fiorelli 1862 59.
- 73 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23n.196; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23.
- 74 McGinn 2013 625 (cf. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23n.196); McGinn 2013 612.
- 75 Fiorelli 1862 59; McGinn 2013 624–625. If food *was* brought in from elsewhere, the tavern directly across the street (VII.1.44–45a; bar type A [masonry counter and cooking facilities] according to Ellis 2004a table 1) could be an option (McGinn 2004 239). While we only rarely find archaeological evidence for the food that was sold at these establishments, the evidence we do have includes grains, nuts, legumes, beans, chickpeas, and lentils (Ellis 2012 108).
- 76 See above, n. 56. For the use of these terms in archaeological documentation, see Allison 2006 18; note that the discovery of food within the vessel suggests that it should not be called a *caldaio*, since this term is most often used by archaeologists for vessels with restricted necks that would be more appropriate for liquids (Allison 2006 25).
- 77 Ellis and Devore 2010 10.
- 78 Ellis and Devore 2010 5.
- 79 Pace Varone 2002, who asserts that the lack of graffiti is due to poor excavation techniques (Varone 2002 194).
- 80 Both of these features were noticed at least as early as 1908 (see Sogliano 1908 12).
- 81 Jacobelli 2001 30 also draws attention to the differences in architecture, décor, and graffiti, offering that these indicate that the upper floor had a different purpose than the ground floor (perhaps, as she suggests later, housing the manager [2001 49n.12]).
- 82 See p. 42.
- 83 Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 84 See Fiorelli 1873 20 (for a scholarly audience) and Fiorelli 1875 287 (for a popular audience).
- 85 See, e.g., della Corte 1965 [1926] 203, de Vos and de Vos 1982 202, Guzzo and d’Ambrosio 2002 [1998] 112, Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006 223. This can also be found in specialist literature, such as Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23.
- 86 McGinn 2013 627, McGinn 2004 238.
- 87 McGinn 2004 238: “Given the uncertainty, I allow separate entries in the catalog provided in the first appendix, but otherwise treat the ‘two’ brothels as one.”
- 88 Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 89 Sogliano 1908 12.
- 90 Varone 2002 194. See also the tentative supposition by Strong (2016 149, 163).
- 91 Varone 2003 213–214; Varone 2002 194.
- 92 McGinn 2004 236.
- 93 Individuals “living” in a brothel: the young man seen by Cato the Elder leaving the brothel on numerous occasions ([Acro] ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31–32); Encolpius in Petron. *Sat.* (6–7); see McGinn 2004 37, 236–237.
- 94 McGinn 2004 238. He acknowledges that some workers may have had their own quarters elsewhere (2004 238).
- 95 For these criteria, see Wallace-Hadrill 1995 52, and pp. 4–5.
- 96 See pp. 2–5.
- 97 Jacobelli 2001 49n.12, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 23.
- 98 Zajac 2008 57. See also McGinn 2013 628: “we cannot rule out the occasional or even regular provision of lodging, both here [in room n] and in the two smaller rooms [m and o]. . .”
- 99 Packer 1968–1969 127, Packer 1975 133, Frier 1977 27. Frier estimates that up to 95 percent of Ostia’s population lived in their shops or in one- or two-room rentals (Frier 1977 30 with 30n.20). The upper floor of our structure fulfills at least two of Pirson’s three criteria for a rentable unit (Pirson 1997 173–178), namely, that it is habitable and independent; whether it was lived in by someone other than the owner (Pirson’s third criterion) is unknowable. For

- laws concerning habitability, see Frier 1977 37 and 37n.56; these included physical security and the non-obstruction of light.
- 100 For possible uses of lofts other than for habitation, see Ellis 2012 105. For lower-class housing, see especially Packer 1968–1969, Packer 1975. For more on the habitation of shops, see Pirson 2007, especially 457, 466–469.
- 101 Ellis 2012 109–110. Ellis counts 158 assured food establishments at Pompeii (Ellis 2004a 374 with table 1 and fig. 2; see also Ellis 2012 103, fig. 5.2).
- 102 Packer 1968–1969 147.
- 103 For, e.g., bars attached to houses, see Ellis 2012 106–107; as Ellis demonstrates, some of these facilities shared resources (water, latrines, storage space) with the houses to which they were attached (Ellis 2012 106). For other combinations of residential and commercial (or industrial) space, see, e.g., Packer 1975 138 (on Herculaneum’s House of the Tailor [V.3–4]) and Pirson 2007 458–460 (on the House of the Postumii [VIII.4.4] and bakery VI.3.27–28). For the integration of residential, commercial, and industrial space in ancient Greece, see, e.g., Tsakirgis 2016 32–33, 35.
- 104 Packer 1968–1969 147.
- 105 See Beard 2008 105–106, and pp. 19–20.
- 106 For the percentage of housing stock, see Pirson 2007 468; for the size (26 square meters), see Ellis 2012 table 5.1. For the furnishing of some of these spaces, see Packer 1975 141. For evidence of rental units at Pompeii, including shops such as these, see especially Pirson 1997 and 2007.
- 107 See, e.g., Packer 1975 141, Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006 326.
- 108 Packer 1975 135.
- 109 VII.12.17, VII.12.23, VII.12.24, VII.12.31; see Nishida 1993 74–76. None of our structure’s doors or windows opens toward the wool processing facility next door (VII.12.17). For other complaints about rental properties, see Sen. Ep. 56.1–2 on living above a bath complex.
- 110 Packer 1968–1969 147.
- 111 Pirson 1997 166, Pirson 2007 457, 469.
- 112 For Roman law and the ownership of the brothel, see McGinn 2004 238.
- 113 McGinn 1998 55–57, McGinn 2004 31–36. It was common practice for property owners to delegate management of their properties to other parties, partly as a means to insulate elite owners from the tedium (and social stigma) of personally managing commercial or rental property (see, e.g., Frier 1977 35).
- 114 CIL 3.13750; see McGinn 1998 261–264. The inscription regards the misbehavior of Roman soldiers in charge of collecting the tax on prostitution.
- 115 Ulp. D.5.3.27.1 at McGinn 1998 238–239 and McGinn 2004 31.
- 116 Zajac 2008 59.
- 117 Pirson 1997 181, DeFelice 2007 482–483n.1.
- 118 Jashemski 1964 344–345.
- 119 Petron. Sat. 95 (on which, see Frier 1977 31), Frier 1977 28, 31–32, 34, DeFelice 2007 476. See also McGinn 2013 628, who notes that lodging might be “for periods briefer than the span of one night, as the Purpose-built Brothel served a variety of purposes, including perhaps that of assignation-house.”
- 120 Frier 1977 29.
- 121 Hori 1993 22.
- 122 Each neighboring property does in fact have upper floors, but these are supported by other internal and external walls of their properties; see Nishida and Hori 1992 53–55, Hori 1993 5–11, 20, 23.
- 123 Note that in Pompeii’s last phase, the brothel’s two neighboring properties were connected to one another. When Pompeii’s Temple of Apollo expanded and blocked a neighbor’s light, the latter had to be compensated; see CIL 10.787 and Cooley and Cooley 2014 [2004] 119.

CHAPTER 6: MALE CLIENTS

- 1 On the possibility of female clients in the brothel, see Varone’s interpretation of graffiti such as CIL 4.2217: *fututa sum hic*, “I [a woman] was fucked here” (Varone 2003 208–209; see also at Varone 2005 95–96); other scholars remain unconvinced (see, e.g., Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 113).
- 2 For the names of clients in the brothel, see Varone 2003 195–203, Varone 2005 95, 97; for the difficulty in determining ethnicity or legal status from names, see, e.g., Solin 2012 104–105 and p. 41.
- 3 Varone 2003 202; see also p. 40.

- 4 For the cost of sexual services in the brothel, see, e.g., *CIL* 4.2193 (*Arphocras hic cum Drauca | bene futuit denario*, “Arphocras [= Harpocras] with Drauca fucks well here for a denarius”), *CIL* 4.2228 (*Victorie · a(ssibus) · V*, “Victorie [= Victoria] [for] 5 a(sses)”; cf. the reading at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 121), *CIL* 4.2279 Add. p. 216 (*fuiat A II*, “fuks[?] 2 a(sses)”; cf. the reading at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 60). For the cost of wine, see, e.g., *CIL* 4.1679 Add. p. 210, p. 463, p. 704, Cooley and Cooley 2014 [2004] 294.
- 5 For the slave allowance, or *peculium*, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 108–110, Rodger 2003, Joshel 2010 128, Mouritsen 2011 passim; for slaves purchasing sex with their *peculium*, see Juv. 3.131–134.
- 6 See, e.g., Clarke 1998 196–199.
- 7 Phoebeus: *CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215; out-of-townners: *CIL* 4.2183 Add. p. 465; *Aeneid*: *CIL* 4.2213; see further pp. 40–42.
- 8 See, e.g., Petron. *Sat.* 7, Mart. 1.34, Juv. 6.114–132, and p. 6; cf. Ath. 568a–f, 569a–d. In addition, prostitutes were often presented as an amalgamation of fragmented body parts for the delectation of male viewers (cf. Mulvey 1975). For example, Athenaeus praises a certain group of prostitutes thus: “One of them was lying there, putting her pale breast on display in the moonlight, since her dress had slipped down, while the dancing had exposed the left hip of another. Exposed to open view, it made a living image visible, and its white tint balanced the effect of the shadowy darkness on my eyes. A third exposed her forearms and lovely hands, wrapping them around the female neck of another girl. This one allowed a glimpse of her thigh beneath the folds of her shredded robes” (*Deipnosophists* 608b–c, trans. Olson 2011).
- 9 Dunbabin 2003 39.
- 10 See, e.g., Clarke 1991 16–17.
- 11 Roller 2006; see especially Roller 2006 153–156 for women’s dining posture.
- 12 See also Roller 2006 22–45 on funerary monuments that depict freedmen reclining on a couch in a convivial setting.
- 13 For slaves at banquets, see especially D’Arms 1991 and Joshel and Petersen 2014 37–68.
- 14 For social jockeying, see, e.g., D’Arms 1990.
- 15 Dunbabin 2003 57; see also George 2011 391. For slaves dining (in a reclining pose) among themselves, see also Roller 2006 21; for slaves reclining among freedmen and even the free-born, see Bradley 2011 378 on the burial society of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium.
- 16 See, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 1 (Glycera and Thais): 280; 6 (Crobyle and Corinna): 293.2–4; 9 (Dorcas, Pannychis, Philostratus, and Polemo): 303.3, 304; 11 (Tryphena and Charmides): 308; 12 (Joessa, Pythias, and Lysias): 311, 315; see also 13 (Leontichus, Chennidas, and Hymnis): 317, and 15 (Cochlis and Parthenis): 322; Ath. 579d–e, 596c–d.
- 17 Lucian *Dial. meret.* 2 (Myrtium, Pamphilus, and Doris): 282.3; see p. 36.
- 18 See the famous sententia recorded by Seneca the Elder: “*impudicitia* is a crime in a freeborn person, a necessity for a slave, and a duty for a freed person” (*Controv.* 4.praef.10; trans. Langlands 1996 22). For the sexual use of slaves and former slaves, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 116–118, Kamen 2011 192–196, Mouritsen 2011 27, Green 2015; for penetration and status, see Walters 1997.
- 19 The next several pages are adapted from Levin-Richardson 2011a.
- 20 The rarity of a name with a first-person verb leads me to take *pedico* as a noun rather than a verb.
- 21 For *pedicare*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 123–125.
- 22 For *futuere*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 118–122.
- 23 Williams asks if first-person claims like *futui* are “boasts written by the men themselves, as a kind of signature; admiring comments written by others; verbal acts of exposure; some combination of these; or something else yet again?” (2014 498). For *CIL* 4.2191, see also pp. 60, 126.
- 24 For other graffiti with the first-person form *futui*, see *CIL* 4.2175 (on which, see further pp. 54, 131), and *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 (see pp. 119, 122).
- 25 See also *CIL* 4.2185, 2186, 2219, 2253; the verb is fragmentary in *CIL* 4.2218, but it may be the second-person singular *futuis*.
- 26 Williams similarly notes, “A few seem to be in the voice of the women brothel workers, complimenting certain customers on *their* technique” (Williams 2014 502).
- 27 For *quisquis amat valeat*, see, for example, *CIL* 4.4091, Varone 1994 60 (= Varone 2002 [1994] 62), Milnor 2009 301–302, Milnor 2014 184–187. A third iteration of the brothel’s sentiment could be understood in the fragmentary *Victor · bene futui[-]* (*CIL* 4.2218) from the east wall of room f.

- 28 For more on Mousaios, see Franklin 1986 327. For other graffiti of this type (in addition to those discussed in the chapter), see *CIL* 4.2178, 2195, 2241.
- 29 *CIL* 4.2247 Add. p. 215 contains a second line, but the reading and authorship are contested (see Appendix B).
- 30 For *irrumare*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 125–130, Richlin 1992 [1983] 26, 29, 69 and *passim*.
- 31 Male boasts with other named participants: *CIL* 4.2192 Add. p. 215, 2193, 2197 Add. p. 215, 2198 Add. p. 215, 2199, 2200 Add. p. 215, 2203 Add. p. 215, 2224, 2232(?), 2258, 2277(?), 2288; male boasts with a general object: *CIL* 4.2175, 2188, 2247 Add. p. 215, 2265. Male sexual boasts with no direct object (not including isolated names): *CIL* 4.2176, 2178, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2191, 2194 Add. p. 465, 2195, 2210, 2216 Add. p. 215, 2218, 2219, 2241, 2242, 2246 Add. p. 465, 2248 Add. p. 215, 2253, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 32 Sedgwick 1985; Wray 2001.
- 33 Wray 2001 64–112.
- 34 Wray 2001 83.
- 35 Wray 2001 87.
- 36 Wray 2001 72–73.
- 37 In *Placidus hic futuit quem voluit*, “Placidus fucks here who he wished” (*CIL* 4.2265), for example, the relative pronoun *quem* refers to males, or at least mixed groups of males and females.
- 38 See, e.g., Richlin 1992 [1983].
- 39 I have taken *pidicaro* as a misspelling of *pedicabo*, although it could also be the syncopated future perfect.
- 40 See, e.g., Parker 1997 51–52.
- 41 See further in Appendix B.
- 42 See especially Mart. 9.4; see also Panciera 2001 46–48.
- 43 Richlin 1992 [1983].
- 44 Richlin 1992 [1983] 60–61.
- 45 Richlin 1992 [1983] 61.
- 46 See also Levin-Richardson 2013.
- 47 For other graffiti in the brothel concerning female practitioners of fellatio, see *CIL* 4.2266, 2268, 2275, 2278, 2292.
- 48 Varone interprets this graffito as written by a satisfied female customer (2003 208, 2005 95–96). For more on these graffiti and what they might mean to the prostitutes themselves, see pp. 119–124.
- 49 For the role of these virtues in elite femininity, see, e.g., Kaster 2005 13–65 and Langlands 1996.
- 50 For the translation of *issa* (= *ipsa*) as equivalent to *domina*, see Väänänen 1959 65.
- 51 See, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 7 (Musarium and Her Mother): 296; 14 (Dorio and Myrtale): 319.1; Ath. 579e.
- 52 The representation of Phoebus as a *pedico* makes one wonder if the perfume/cosmetics could have been used as a gift to entice a prostitute into being anally penetrated by Phoebus. For the susceptibility of poor prostitutes to painful or risky sexual practices in modern contexts, see, e.g., Kaye 2010 94, 100, 113, Kelly 2010 178–179, Willman 2010 144–145.
- 53 See Zangemeister at *CIL*; unfortunately, the profile is no longer visible.
- 54 Literary representations commonly posit this as the purpose of gifts to prostitutes. For example, in Lucian *Dial. meret.* 14 (Dorio and Myrtale), a sea merchant ends his list of gifts to his choice courtesan with the lament, “So, Myrtale, you shut the door in my face now that I’ve beggared myself because of you, though, when I brought all those gifts, I was your darling, your man, your lord, your all!” (319.1, trans. MacLeod 1961). The merchant clearly has certain expectations about what Myrtale accepting his gifts (including perfume!) means in terms of reciprocity: he expects to be favored by her, and not just at the moment he gives the gift, but in the future, as well. Likewise, in *Dial. meret.* 9 (Dorcas, Pannychis, Philostratus, and Polemo), the courtesan Pannychis muses: “It wouldn’t be right for me to send Philostratus away, when he gave me a talent only the other day . . . and promises me so much, nor yet would it be sensible for me to shut Polemo out, when he’s returned in such splendor” (303.3, trans. MacLeod 1961). Though the recipients in these literary representations are courtesans rather than brothel prostitutes, the clients themselves are often of quite humble status. The spurned client of Myrtale is a sea merchant, who is made to comment, “Oh Myrtale, I brought you all a sailor could afford out of his pay” (319.1–320, trans. MacLeod 1961). Other clients of fairly menial professions can be found in, e.g., *Dial. meret.* 15 (Cochlis and Parthenis), in which the

- courtesan Cochlis says, “Give me a fisherman or sailor or farmer of my own class, who may have little skill in paying compliments, but gives lots of presents” (324.3, trans. MacLeod 1961).
- 55 McGinn 1998 94–99, 322–324, 336, 339; see also Flemming 1999 49n.59. Ulpian distinguishes between “honorable gifts (*honestae*) . . . made to deserving friends and relations” and “dishonorable gifts” (*inhonestae*) . . . made to prostitutes (*meretrices*)” (D. 39.5.5, trans. McGinn 1998 336).
- 56 Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.17; see further McGinn 1998 95.
- 57 Ulp. D. 12.5.4.3; see further McGinn 1998 324.
- 58 McGinn 1998 322–324. This should also be seen as an incentive for prostitutes not to marry, as being married would reduce their legal right to patrimony (McGinn 1998 339).
- 59 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2001 981.
- 60 On the armband, see Costabile 2001, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2001, McGinn 2004 268, Edmondson 2011 352–353, George 2011 397, Baird 2015, Berg 2017 33n.51.
- 61 For an overview of these questions, see Costabile 2001, esp. 455–463, and McGinn 2004 268.
- 62 Costabile 2001 473. See also Baird 2015 164 on the armband: “Within this asymmetrical power arrangement of masters and slaves engaging in sex, there must have been a range of relationships – from those slaves who lived under constant threat to those who consciously leveraged their own desirability to try and improve their lot; indeed, these situations might coincide within a single person and complicate issues surrounding what we could consider to be consent.”
- 63 Baird 2015 169; see also Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2001 996.
- 64 See also Strong 2016.
- and elsewhere at Pompeii: Varone 2003 214, Varone 2005 99 (see also Franklin 1986 and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 61 for the general overlap of names in the brothel and elsewhere at Pompeii).
- 4 There were also legal penalties for citizen women who practiced prostitution (see, e.g., Edwards 1997, McGinn 1998 48–53, 55–58, 60–69), which for the most part are not relevant to the questions at hand.
- 5 For the inability to refuse clients, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 117, Marshall 2013 181–182; for economic impoverishment leading to prostitution, see, e.g., Flemming 1999 40–42, Åshede 2016 934–936. Economic impoverishment and societal stigma would have greatly increased the vulnerability of the brothel’s prostitutes and the precariousness of their lives, as modern comparanda attest; see, e.g., Alexander 1987 16, Brown 2000 116 at Marshall 2013 176, Sprinkle 2009b 12, 14.
- 6 For the popular imagination, see, e.g., Prop. 2.23.13–24, Sen. *Controv.* 1.2.5, *CIL* 4.1860 (“The girl to whom I wrote and who accepted my message is rightfully mine. The girl who quoted her price [i.e., a prostitute] is not mine but the property of all” [trans. Varone 2002 (1994) 37]); see other examples at Adams 1983 343–344, 349, and Åshede 2016 937–938. Sometimes the indiscriminate nature of prostitutes’ sexual acts was more important ideologically than the actual exchange of money; see, e.g., Edwards 1997 76 (discussing *Dig.* 23.2.43.3), McGinn 1998 124–135, 324–5, Flemming 1999 52, McGinn 2004 7.
- 7 For theft, see McGinn 1998 325–328, McGinn 2004 89–90; for rape, see McGinn 1998 325–328, McGinn 2004 89.
- 8 McGinn 2004 86, emphasis added.
- 9 See especially McGinn 2004 88–90.
- 10 Bradley 1987 119–121. For the sexual abuse of household slaves, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 116–118, Green 2015, Marshall 2015.
- 11 Or: “I am a slutty prostitute” (Harper 2011 310 with n.196).
- 12 Thurmond 1994 cat. 5; for the archaeological context, see Trimble 2016 457 with n.53.
- 13 Trimble 2016 466.
- 14 Modern prostitutes face similar dangers, including physical violence, rape, robbery, and murder (on which, see, e.g., Brass 2009 58, Hansen 2009 63, Sprinkle 2009b 12, Sterry 2009b 5, Kaye 2010 91, 106–112, O’Neill and

CHAPTER 7: FEMALE PROSTITUTES

- Pitcher 2010 209–211, Petro 2010 165). For the role of fear in modern prostitution, see, e.g., Sterry 2009c 16–17.
- 15 Witzke 2015 16.
- 16 E.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 6 (Crobyle and Corinna); cf. Ath. 588d. For the prostitution of children, see also Flemming 1999 40–42, Åshede 2016 933–936. Gilhuly notes that even though Lucian calls his characters courtesans (*hetairai*), “the ‘courtesans’ he represents do not have a particular association with gift exchange (and its social and political resonances) versus a monetary economy or with the symposium versus the polis” (Gilhuly 2007 60). For Athenaeus’s literary goals, see, e.g., McClure 2003a and McClure 2003b.
- 17 Ath. 579d.
- 18 Lucian *Dial. meret.* 7 (Musarium and Her Mother): 298; 8 (Ampelis and Chrysis): 299–300; 15 (Cochlis and Parthenis): 322; Ath. 585a.
- 19 See Boon 1991 27–28.
- 20 Eschebach and Schäfer 1983 cat. 28 and cat. 22, respectively.
- 21 As mentioned before, Varone suggests that prostitutes who worked in the purpose-built brothel had a wide geographic range and were not necessarily restricted to the structure (2005 96, 99–104; see also Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 92).
- 22 See, e.g., McGinn 2002, Varone 2005 105–106, and Strong 2016 158–159, *pace* Laurence, who argues that brothels were unofficially zoned to prevent elite women and children from seeing what he terms the “deviant behaviour” of prostitutes (Laurence 2007 [1994] 82–101). It is possible that individuals other than the prostitutes fetched water, such as “water boys” (see McGinn 2004 37 with n.163).
- 23 For a description of slave tactics, see Joshel and Petersen 2014 8, 13–17. For agency among slaves in the American South, see especially Camp 2004. For other forms of slave resistance, see, e.g., Bradley 2011.
- 24 Joshel and Petersen 2014 100–101; for slave agency in the streets more generally, see Joshel and Petersen 2014 87–117.
- 25 See Joshel and Petersen 2014 102. This property is categorized as a type A bar (evidence for masonry counter and cooking facilities) by Ellis 2004a 374.
- 26 Franklin 1986.
- 27 Eschebach and Schäfer 1983 cat. 27. Laurence’s map of Pompeian neighborhoods puts this fountain at the epicenter of the brothel’s potential “neighborhood” (Laurence 2007 [1994] map 3.4).
- 28 For Greek culture, see, e.g., McClure 2003a 119–120; for modern examples, see pp. 116–117.
- 29 *CIL* 4.2176, 2187, 2219.
- 30 Note that in Chapter 8, I raise the possibility that Syneros may be a male prostitute (see p. 137).
- 31 Hoang 2010. See also Brown on prostitution in contemporary Asia: “Successful prostitutes learn techniques and modes of behavior that make men feel masculine” (Brown 2000 140 at Marshall 2013 193).
- 32 Ath. 571e, trans. Olson 2010.
- 33 See, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 11 (Tryphena and Charmides): 308–309.
- 34 Ath. 580b; see also 585c.
- 35 Sprinkle 2009a 10. See also Sterry 2009a 47, Bradley-Engen and Hobbs 2010 75, Brents and Hausbeck 2010 16.
- 36 Green 2015 155. See also Kamen 2011.
- 37 Marshall 2013 193–195.
- 38 Marshall 2013 196.
- 39 See also Bradley 1987 118 on Roman concubines; for a modern comparandum, see Kaye 2010 99.
- 40 See also Gilhuly (2007 61) on gifts and prostitute agency in *Dial. meret.* 14 (Dorio and Myrtale).
- 41 For the manumission of sex slaves and prostitutes in Greece, see Kamen 2014a, esp. 301–303; for the freeing of prostitutes in Rome, see Flemming 1999 49.
- 42 For the gender of the recipient, see Appendix B.
- 43 [Quint.] *Maj. Decl.* 14–15, on which see Flemming 1999 44.
- 44 Glazebrook 2011 51.
- 45 Gifts from clients are sometimes represented as making the difference between surviving and not surviving (see, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 3 [Philinna and Her Mother]). The gift-giving trope was so common that it was mocked in Ath. 558d–e.
- 46 E.g., in Lucian *Dial. meret.* 7 (Musarium and Her Mother), a client has promised to marry the courtesan with whom he is in love, though the narrative frame is that the courtesan must financially support him until his

- father dies and he comes into his inheritance; note, too, the incredulity of the mother: “And you say he’s promised on oath to make you his lawful wedding wife” (296; trans. MacLeod 1961). *Priapea* 40 represents a woman who has bought her freedom through her earnings as a prostitute. A client may also have supported a prostitute if he thought she was carrying his child; for the fictional representation of this scenario, see, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 2 (Myrtium, Pamphilus, and Doris) and *Dial. meret.* 14 (Dorio and Myrtale). For slaves’ desire for freedom, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 81–82, Roth 2010 93, Bradley 2011 365; for prostitutes’ desire for freedom, see, e.g., Flemming 1999 46, Marshall 2013 190.
- 47 Cf. Kaye 2010 102 on modern street prostitution in the United States.
- 48 For the connection between prostitution and performance in the Greek imaginary, see, e.g., McClure 2003a 107–136. For a modern comparandum, see, e.g., Hawk Kinkaid at Sterry 2009a 49: “With a client, it’s all performance. I don’t think it’s about being turned on. That doesn’t matter. It’s like theater, and you treat it like theater. They don’t know and they certainly don’t care. They don’t want you to be real. Real people have problems, dramas, credit card bills, etc.” See also Bradley-Engen and Hobbs 2010 67, 75.
- 49 See Edwards 1993 123–124, 128–131, and especially Edwards 1997.
- 50 Edwards 1993 124–125, 127–131, Edwards 1997 67–68, 75–76, 79, 81, 84–85; see also Williams 2010 [1999] 43.
- 51 Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.126, trans. Green 2015 154; Green 2015 154.
- 52 Trans. Olson 2010. See also Ath. 582e, 587c, Lucian *Dial. meret.* 11 (Tryphena and Charmides): 309. For prostitutes’ names in Athenaeus, see McClure 2003a 59–78, esp. 68–76.
- 53 Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 90 ask if Panta was so named because she fulfilled all requests.
- 54 The name Beronice (*CIL* 4.2198 Add. p. 215, 2256, and possibly the fragmentary 2278) may have evoked the famous Hellenistic queens by the name of Berenice in Ptolemaic Egypt, and thus perhaps can also be considered a stage name. Murtis (*CIL* 4.2273 Add. p. 216, 2292, probably the fragmentary 2293) may have invoked female genitalia, as the Greek word *μύτρον* was used as such in Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1004) and at least two other sources (see *LSJ* s.v. *μύτρον*).
- 55 See, e.g., Joshel 2010 95.
- 56 See also Keegan on slave names in the possible Imperial paedagogium (second to early third century CE) on the Palatine Hill in Rome: “The onomastic evidence suggests the way in which Roman society codified social difference, defining the functions and obligations of individual slaves by means of indicative *cognomina*.” (2013 84).
- 57 Solin takes Mula/Mola not as a name but as a “derisive appellation” (Solin 2008 66). For actual mules in the Greco-Roman (but more so Greek) imaginary, see Griffith 2006 336–352.
- 58 Trans. Williams 2014 497.
- 59 E.g., *CIL* 4.5127 from the exterior of the House of Jason (IX.5.18), the upstairs of which is thought to have sold sex based on the large number of graffiti with names and prices on this wall (see della Corte 1965 [1926] 162–163, McGinn 2004 284, and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 54). For literary representations of charming courtesans, see, e.g., Lucian *Dial. meret.* 6 (Crobyle and Corinna): 294, Ath. 571f, McClure 2003a 119.
- 60 See, e.g., Prop. 2.6.27–30, rallying against the proliferation of visual imagery of adultery (according to Goold 1999 [1990] ad loc.; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2000 48–49 suggest the imagery could be anything from suggestive mythological frescoes to explicit sex scenes): “The hand which first created painted panels depicting sexual acts [*obscenas . . . tabellae*] | and put up disgraceful sights [*turpia*] for display within a chaste [*casta*] household, | that (hand) corrupted the freeborn eyelets [*ingenue ocellos*] of girls and thus refused | to allow them to remain inexperienced of his own wantonness” (trans. Johnson and Ryan 2005 177, with modifications). According to intro-missive theories of vision – as described, for example, by Lucretius in *De Rerum Natura* (6.921–23; see also 4.216–217) – every object emits a continual stream of films that strike and penetrate the eyes, causing the viewer to see. Sexual imagery could thus be thought to sexually violate the eyes of certain female viewers, namely, those who are freeborn (*ingenue*), from chaste (*casta*) households, and not yet married (see also Johnson and Ryan 2005

- 177n.4; Richardson 1977 228 comments that “the case might be different for slave girls”).
- 61 Trans. Shackleton Bailey 1993.
- 62 See n. 60 on intromissive vision and sexual penetration; cf. Cassius Dio 58.2.4 on Livia’s verbal *recusatio* of being violated by the sight of naked men.
- 63 See also McClure 2003a 119 on the charming courtesan in Ath. 571f: “she is almost closer to the respectable matron than to the brothel worker.”
- 64 Parts of this section have been adapted from Levin-Richardson 2013. It should be noted that nowhere at Pompeii does anyone refer to themselves or someone else – even jokingly or as defamation – with the most common Latin words for prostitute: *meretrix*, *scortum/a*, *lupa* (according to a search of the Clauss-Slaby Epigraphic Database [www.manfredclauss.de]; because this database relies heavily on entries in *CIL* it may therefore miss entries in other publications). For the terminology of Roman prostitution, see, e.g., Adams 1983; see also Witzke 2015, who convincingly argues that the terminology used for prostitutes in Roman comedy is determined by the differing motives of the characters.
- 65 See further Levin-Richardson 2013 321–327. Harris postulates that less than 10 percent of women in the Roman Empire were literate (Harris 1989 266; compared with 20–30 percent for male literacy [Harris 1989 266]); for scholarship that has critiqued Harris’s low assessment of Roman literacy, see, e.g., Franklin 1991. For various levels of literacy, from being able to reproduce letters but not understand them, to the daily use of written language, see Harris 1996 70–72.
- 66 Plant 2004 2–5.
- 67 Hemelrijk 1999 271n.71; Hemelrijk 1999 21.
- 68 *Tab. Vindol.* II 257, *Tab. Vindol.* II 294; cf. the better known correspondence between Claudia Severa and Sulpicia Lepidina (*Tab. Vindol.* II 291–293, *Tab. Vindol.* III 635); for female writers in these documents, see further Hallett 2002 96, Bowman 2003 85, Bowman and Thomas 2003 11.
- 69 Prostitutes’ literacy in *Pseudolus*: see especially Hallett 2011; literate prostitutes can be found in Lucian *Dial. meret.* 4 (Melitta and Bacchis) and 10 (Chelidonium and Drosis).
- 70 Bar advertisement: *CIL* 4.1679 Add. p. 210, p. 463, p. 704, on which see especially Woekner 2002; domestic greetings: *CIL* 4.8218b and k, on which see Benefiel 2011 25–27; flute player: *CIL* 4.8873, on which see Woekner 2002; lover’s plea: *CIL* 4.5296, on which see especially Milnor 2014 191–232; loan: *CIL* 4.4528, 8203, 8204, on which see Cooley and Cooley 2014 [2004] 259–260.
- 71 For agency and *fellatrices*, see Levin-Richardson 2013 328–332, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 239–242.
- 72 For *irrumare*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 125–130, Richlin 1992 [1983] 26, 29, 69 and *passim*; for the difference between *fellare* and *irrumare*, see, e.g., Levin-Richardson 2013 331, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 242, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015b 450–453.
- 73 For other graffiti in the brothel that connect women to fellatio, see *CIL* 4.2266, 2268 (a partial reiteration of this graffito can be seen in 2271), 2273 Add. p. 216.
- 74 Mart. 11.22.4 and 11.61.11, on which see Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 244–248; *CIL* 4.4196: *Miduse fututrix*.
- 75 Mola as penetrator: *TLL* (VI.1.1664.60–64) states that *fututrix* here is equivalent to *tribas*, a woman who takes on masculine gender and sexual roles; for more on *tribades*, see Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 242–244; Adams seems to suggest that Mola is not an agent by glossing the word *fututrix* as *ea quae futuitur*, “she who is fucked” (1982 122).
- 76 See the review of literature in Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 232–238.
- 77 Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a and 2015b; for using these three criteria for sexual agency, see Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015b 449–450.
- 78 For Mula = Mola, see Appendix B; for Mula as accusative in this graffito, see Zangemeister at *CIL* 4.2203, and note that Väänänen showed that many accusatives in vernacular Latin lack a final *m* (1959 73).
- 79 Flemming 1999 56.
- 80 Varone thinks this was written by a female client (Varone 2003 208–209, Varone 2005 95–96; Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 115 express doubt about that possibility); Williams adds that “we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that [this graffito] was playfully written by a customer, as an act of ventriloquism” (Williams 2014 502).
- 81 For the relationship between language and subject formation, see, e.g., Butler 1997 10.

- 82 As mentioned in [Chapter 3](#) (see pp. 56–58), it is very likely that these graffiti refer to the same individual, though we cannot exclude the possibility that more than one woman named Victoria was present in the seven years the brothel was operational.
- 83 The graffito could also read “true victory.”
- 84 The metaphor was especially popular in elegy, on which, see, e.g., Fredrick [1997](#) 179–190, Lyne [2002](#) 353–359.
- 85 See also the Rhone Valley medallion with *tu sola nica* written above a male–female sex scene (see Clarke [1998](#) 260 with fig. 101); Clarke comments, “the woman has conquered him in sex” (Clarke [2013](#) 527).
- 86 For another interpretation of this graffito, see Guzzo and Scarano Ussani [2009](#) 121.
- 87 See, e.g., Weitzer [2000](#) 3; see also Flemming [1999](#) 38–40 on the need to use incorporate this approach into the study of ancient prostitution.
- 88 Sterry [2009b](#) 3–4; see also Forno [2009](#) 19.
- 89 Compare the appropriation of the term “whore” by some modern prostitutes; see, e.g., Sprinkle [2009a](#) 10–11.
- 90 For the classic approach, see Althusser [1971](#).
- 91 Butler [1997](#) 2.
- 92 Butler [1997](#) 12–13.
- 93 See Grahame [1997](#) 144: “Privacy . . . is not just about the need to remove oneself from public knowledge and observation, but is a far more general requirement to remove oneself from the scrutiny of others.” However, he notes that this type of privacy can turn into confinement if one cannot leave the space without coming under surveillance (Grahame [1997](#) 146; see also Joshel [2013](#) 102–107 on the surveillance of slaves in agricultural villas), which may have been the case in the brothel.
- 94 Grahame [1997](#) 145; emphasis in the original.
- 95 Grahame [1997](#) 145.
- 96 See, e.g., Mart. 7.62, Juv. 8.146–150, 9.101–123.
- 97 Trans. Braund [2004](#).
- 98 It also uses the first “f” of *Felicia ego f.* “I f-ed Felicia [= Felicula]” (*CIL* 4.2199), for the back of the head. For the combination of profiles and text, see, e.g., Clarke [2007](#) 44–49.
- 99 For marks of slavery, see Kamen [2010](#); for tattooing and branding of slaves’ foreheads, see Kamen [2010](#) 99; see also Petron. *Sat.* 103: “Eumolpus filled both of [their] foreheads with huge letters and drew with a generous hand the mark of fugitive slaves, an inscription, all over [their] faces” (trans. Kamen [2010](#) 101).
- 100 Kamen [2010](#) 101–102.
- 101 E.g., *epigramma* in Petron. *Sat.* 103 (Kamen [2010](#) 101, 106–108).
- 102 Kamen [2010](#) 102–107.
- 103 On the other hand, it could also be seen as appropriating and reframing the language of oppression into a proclamation of penetrative masculinity (*futui*); compare the analysis of *fututa sum hic* (*CIL* 4.2217) on pp. 122–123.
- 104 See Levin-Richardson [2013](#) 335–341.
- 105 For cunnilingus as penetration of the mouth, see, e.g., Parker [1997](#) 51–52.
- 106 The combination of oppression and humanizing potential can also be seen, for example, in slave quarters of the American South, which were both a symbol of oppression and a powerful place for the enactment of family, religion, and resistance (Camp [2004](#) 93–116).
- 107 Ov. *Ars am.* 3.771–788. Barton has revealed the extent to which “being, for a Roman, was being seen” ([2002](#) 220), and how the omnipresent judgment and vision of others was even internalized; Kaster also has drawn attention to how Roman behavior was affected by seeing oneself through the eyes of others ([2005](#) 13–27, 56–61).
- 108 Ov. *Ars am.* 3.773–774, 781–782, trans. Myerowitz [1992](#) 136; see further Myerowitz [1992](#) 135–136.
- 109 Myerowitz [1992](#) 136.
- 110 Ath. 568c–d, trans. Olson [2010](#); on this passage, see McClure [2003a](#) 115–116; see further Ath. 568a–b; see also Lucian *Dial. meret.* 6 (Crobyle and Corinna): 294. Prostitutes policing each other’s behavior is known in modern-day contexts, too; see, e.g., Kelly [2010](#) 178.
- 111 Two courtesans in Athenaeus are portrayed sharing the same bed (578e), with a similar scenario in Lucian *Dial. meret.* 12 (Joessa, Pythias, and Lysias).
- 112 *Mor.* 759f–760a, at Bradley [2011](#) 374; Juv. 9.115–117. Perhaps we can read through Epigrates’s account of the courtesan Laiis – “Laiis herself’s a lazy drunk, | who’s only interested in eating and drinking | every day” (Ath. 570b, trans. Olson [2010](#)) – as a possible instance of this self-care. For “theft” as the exercise of resistance by slaves, see, e.g., Bradley [2011](#) 373–374, 381.

- 113 On sharing survival strategies, see Forno 2009 22, Sterry 2009c 17; on prostitutes' families, Sprinkle notes, "sex workers are a part of our neighborhoods, communities, and families" (2009b 13); Sterry likewise reminds us that modern sex workers "are mothers, fathers, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, and children" (2009b 6); see also Brown 2000 122 at Marshall 2013 182n.36, Willman and Levy 2010 1.
- 114 On the natal alienation of slaves, see, e.g., Bradley 1987 47, Bradley 2011 362; on communities of prostitutes in modern contexts, see, e.g., Forno 2009 19–23, Kaye 2010 90. The possibilities suggested above present a poignant alternative to the narratives given in texts like Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, which purport to offer a voyeuristic glimpse into what courtesans do in their off-time. Perhaps unsurprisingly, women were thought to discuss, pine over, and fight over their clients.

CHAPTER 8: MALE PROSTITUTES

- 1 E.g., Fiorelli 1862 49–51 (note that in many cases, Fiorelli's homoerotic readings of graffiti have been revised on epigraphic grounds), de Vos and de Vos 1982 203, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 113–114, Varone 2002 200, Varone 2002 [1994] 131–132, Varone 2003 205–209, 213, Varone 2005 96, 98, Williams 2014 502. For male prostitution more generally in Roman culture, see, e.g., Krenkel 1978, Krenkel 1979, Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 71, 102–104, McGinn 2004 229–230, Williams 2010 [1999] 40–50. For male prostitution in Greek culture, see, e.g., Halperin 1990.
- 2 On the imbalance of evidence for female and male prostitution in antiquity, see e.g., McGinn 1998 62, 124, McGinn 2004 2.
- 3 For the heteronormativity of narratives of prostitution, see, e.g., Weitzer 2000 7–10, Thorbek 2002 2–3.
- 4 Varone 2003 205–209, 213, Varone 2005 96, 98.
- 5 *CIL* 4.3999 and 8939–8940, on which see Varone 2003 208–209 with n.52, Varone 2005 107n.29. In the brothel in particular, Varone interprets *fututa sum hic*, "I [a woman] was fucked here" (*CIL* 4.2217), as written by a female client (2003 208–209, 2005 95–96; cf. Williams 2014 502 on the same graffiti), and takes *Μόλα · φουτοῦτρίς*, "Mola the fucktress" (*CIL* 4.2204), and *Beronice* | *[-]abenda* | *futuere*, "Beronice [H]abenda to fuck" (*CIL* 4.2198 Add. p. 215), as indicating female–female prostitution (2005 96; cf. Williams 2014 506n.9). Varone also raises the possibility that Victor (see *CIL* 4.2209, 2218, 2258, 2260 Add. p. 216, probably the fragmentary 2274 Add. p. 216, 2294) was a gigolo, but without clear explanation (2003 208); on Victor as a possible male prostitute, see p. 137.
- 6 Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 114, Williams 2014 503; it should be noted that despite these reservations, both sets of scholars remain open to the possibility of female clients (Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 114–115, Williams 2014 503). For another critical perspective on the possibility of female clients, see Åshede 2016 934. For accusations of cunnilingus in Pompeian graffiti that seem firmly in the realm of invective, see, e.g., Levin-Richardson 2013 337–339.
- 7 Plaut. *Pseud.* 767–787; see also the fragment of Pomponius Bononiensis's comedy *The Prostitute*, in which male prostitution is an economic strategy necessary for survival: "I am looking for something to eat, while they are looking for something to shit" (Fr. 151–52, R. trans. Hubbard 2003 323).
- 8 See especially McGinn 1998 26–53, 58–69.
- 9 See, e.g., Murgatroyd 1977 105–106, Richlin 1992 [1983] 34–44, Williams 2010 [1999] 78–84. Williams argues that Roman men could and did desire adult men (including *exoliti*) without reproach, as long as the former penetrated the latter (2010 [1999] 84–94).
- 10 See, e.g., Mart. 1.31, 5.48, 9.17.
- 11 Kamen 2011 193–194; cf. Mart. 9.36, Petron. *Sat.* 75.10.
- 12 Sen. *Ep.* 47.7.
- 13 Bradley 1987 115–116; see also Richlin 2015 358 on boy prostitutes and castration in Mart. 9.5(6) and 9.7(8).
- 14 Shumka 2008 174; see also Williams 2010 [1999] 141.
- 15 See, e.g., *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215, 2203 Add. p. 215 (*Mula* is taken as the accusative object), 2288. For the sake of clarity, I refer here only to examples where a named male or female is the direct object of *futuere*; several graffiti use the formula *x cum y*, "x with y" – including some with two or more male names – but as Williams (2014 506n.8) notes, *cum* may

- indicate that the named individuals had sex with another person, not with each other (this is the way *CIL* 4.2192 Add. p. 215 has been interpreted, for example; see also Levin-Richardson 2013 330 on *CIL* 4.2402).
- 16 Pace Adams (1982 121), who suggests that *quem* (specifically, of *CIL* 4.2188) might be symptomatic of “the encroachment of the masculine forms of the relative on the feminine.” Given that *futuere* could encompass the penetration of males, as he himself discusses in the same passage, I do not find his explanation convincing. It seems equally plausible, if not more so, that these graffiti reflected the arbitrariness of the object of the act. That is, Placidus and the others were properly masculine whether they had sex with females or males.
- 17 A second line, which is fragmentary and whose reading is debated, is in a different hand; see further Appendix B.
- 18 For *pedicare*, see e.g., Adams 1982 123–125, Williams 2010 [1999] 83. The damaged state and multiple contributors to *CIL* 4.2197 Add. p. 215 make it difficult to discern who, if anyone is the object of *pedicare*; in *CIL* 4.2254 Add. p. 216, the clearly male object of *pedicare* is a client rather than a prostitute (see pp. 106, 139).
- 19 Varone 2002 [1994] 131; de Vos and de Vos 1982 203. Varone claims that in the brothel “there is no lack of names of young boys, or *pueri*, who were requested by those who wished to *paedicare*” (2002 200), though he does not specify which names belong to the young boys other than the *puer* of *CIL* 4.2258a (on which, see pp. 132–133).
- 20 For *irrumare*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 125–130, Richlin 1992 [1983] 26, 29, 69 and *passim*.
- 21 Catull. 16.1–2, 14; for other male victims of *irrumare*, see Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015b 450–451.
- 22 For *futuere*, see, e.g., Adams 1982 118–122.
- 23 *CIL* 4.2176, 2178, 2184 Add. p. 215, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2191, 2192 Add. p. 215, 2195, 2198 Add. p. 215, 2216 Add. p. 215, 2218, 2219, 2246 Add. p. 465, 2253 (see p. 137 however, for another interpretation), 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216; see also *fututor* in *CIL* 4.2242 and 2248 Add. p. 215.
- 24 For Rusticus, see also Varone 2003 205–206; for an alternative translation of *condiscus*, see Appendix B.
- 25 See, e.g., Richlin 1992 [1983] 34–44, Williams 2010 [1999] 203–209, Keegan 2013 74, Richlin 2015 353. For other *pueri* in graffiti, see especially Varone 2002 [1994] 131–141 on male sexual objects in Pompeian graffiti, and Keegan 2013 81 on slave *pueri* in the presumed Imperial paedagogium on the Palatine in Rome (specifically, *Graf. Pal.* I.189, 230, 356).
- 26 Varone 2002 200.
- 27 For the desire for boys versed in country activities, see, e.g., Williams 2010 [1999] 207–208 on Tib. 1.4.11–12, Levin-Richardson 2015b 275–276 on *CIL* 4.1309 Add. p. 206 from the Via di Mercurio outside the House of the Centaur (VI.9.3; *Thalia invicta | calos · pagita · I*, “Unconquerable Thalia [or a] beautiful country-boy [for] 1 [as]”); see also Hor. *Epist.* 1.14 on the simple pleasures of the countryside; for the appeal of naïveté, see, e.g., Lucian *Dial. D.* 10 (Zeus and Ganymede), on which see Richlin 2015 366–367. Cf. the names of male slaves preserved in the graffiti of the Imperial paedagogium on the Palatine, which evoke long hair, beauty, attractive manner, and refinement (Keegan 2013 82).
- 28 Richlin summarizes the representation of *pueri* in literature thus: “the boys are generally pictured as lovely and idle, viewed at play, in golden adolescence” (Richlin 1992 [1983] 34).
- 29 See, e.g., Suet. *Aug.* 83; for scholarship, see, e.g., Keegan 2013 74, Richlin 2015 364.
- 30 See Della Corte 1965 [1926] 203, reiterated by Franklin 1986 323; for critique, see, e.g., McGinn 2002 13 and 37n.277.
- 31 See also *Anth. Pal.* 12.34 on the “devoted attendance” (Richlin 1992 [1983] 35) of a *puer*. If *rusticus* is taken as an adjective rather than a name, further interpretive and performative possibilities open up. Readers could imagine that any of the male prostitutes could be (or could have been) this *puer rusticus*. The male prostitutes could claim this identity for themselves, performing as the country boy dedicated to his older lover or master.
- 32 See, e.g., Murgatroyd 1977, Verstraete 2012.
- 33 Richlin 2015; see also Krenkel 1978 53 and Krenkel 1979 185 on laws banning the prostitution of male children.
- 34 Levin-Richardson 2015b.

- 35 Varone takes Castrensis (and Paris, discussed on pp. 135–136) as “passive homosexuals” (2003 205).
- 36 2.6.52–53, trans. Hubbard 2003 428 with modifications. On this and related passages, see, e.g., Richlin 2015 364–366.
- 37 These depictions often belong to the realm of invective, accusing a Roman man either of (allegedly) prostituting himself, or shirking his responsibilities (e.g., to his family or to the state) to cavort with a prostitute. For a summary of types of Roman invective, see Nisbet 1961 192–197.
- 38 Livy 39.45.2ff.; for this passage, see also Cantarella 2002 [1988] 101–102, Williams 2010 [1999] 46–48 (who notes that in some retellings of the story, the prostitute is female); see also Cic. *Mil.* 55, in which Cicero claims that Clodius Pulcher “always brought along prostitutes, over-age male hustlers, and the lowest brothel whores when he traveled” (trans. Hubbard 2003 341). We ought to note that the prostitute in the Livy passage is a victim of sex-trafficking (he was taken from his hometown, Carthage).
- 39 Note that Naevolus is not referred to specifically as a prostitute.
- 40 1.4.58, trans. Hubbard 2003 355. While in Tibullus’s poetry these gifts are quite extravagant, including gold, jewels, vineyards, and land (see, e.g., 1.9), if gifts were offered to male prostitutes in the brothel, presumably they would have been more modest. For the trope of giving gifts to *pueri*, see, e.g., Murgatroyd 1977 107, Krenkel 1979 181, Richlin 1992 [1983] 38.
- 41 Plaut. *Persa* 284–286; Petron. *Sat.* 75.11; see also Krenkel 1978 52 and Krenkel 1979 185 on slave prostitutes earning enough money to buy their own freedom; see also Kamen 2014a 298 on the freeing of attractive slave boys in ancient Greece.
- 42 Sen. *Controv.* 4.praef.10. For the continued sexual labor expected of freed prostitutes, see, e.g., Marshall 2015 124–125 and passim, and for the same in Greek culture, see especially Kamen 2014a 295–298 and Kamen 2014b.
- 43 Fiorelli 1862 50. For the full range of meanings of *καλός*, see *LSJ* s.v. *καλός*.
- 44 For Greek *καλός* acclamations, see *RE* s.v. *kalos* inscriptions, Smothers 1947, Shapiro 2004.
- 45 Levin-Richardson 2015b.
- 46 Tavern boy: *CIL* 4.9146h from the portico outside the upper floor of the Suburban Baths (VII.16.a); male prostitutes: *CIL* 4.652 Add. p. 241 from inside the Porta Marina, *CIL* 4.1309 Add. p. 206 from the Via di Mercurio near one of the entrances to the House of the Centaur (VI.9.3), *CIL* 4.5136 and 5138 (both about a certain Proclus) and 5148 from the exterior of the House of Jason (IX.5.18); actors (for the identification of the individuals in these graffiti as actors, see the discussion in Levin-Richardson 2015b 278–280): *CIL* 4.1294 Add. p. 206 from the Via di Mercurio near the doorway to the House of Castor and Pollux (VI.9.7), *CIL* 4.1679 Add. p. 210, p. 463, p. 704 from the central hall of the House of the Bear (VII.2.45), *CIL* 4.2150 Add. p. 215 from VII.12.34, *CIL* 4.4567 from VI.14.40, *CIL* 4.5018 from the House of Casellius Marcellus (IX.2.26); women: *CIL* 4.1283 and 1286 from the House of the Argenteria (VI.7.20), *CIL* 4.1679 Add. p. 210, p. 463, p. 704 from the House of the Bear (VII.2.45).
- 47 Edwards 1993 124–125, 127–131, Edwards 1997 67–68, 75–76, 79, 81, 84–85.
- 48 Just as Richlin (2005 70) takes the phrase *puer cauponius* in Plautus (*Poen.* 1298) to refer to an object of desire who would evoke associations with prostitution, so too should the beautiful tavern boy in *CIL* 4.9146h be interpreted in the same way.
- 49 Trans. Butrica 2002 510. Krenkel 1979 186 takes this passage (combined with others) as indicating that *pathici* were euphemistically called *pulchri*.
- 50 Butrica 2002 510–512; for *exoleti* in general, see especially Williams 2010 [1999] 90–94.
- 51 Catull. 79.1; Skinner 1982 197. Butrica takes *pulcher Lesbius* as referring not to P. Clodius Pulcher specifically but to any member of the *Clodii Pulchri* (2002 508). P. Clodius Pulcher may have been one of the owners of the elite residence in the Roman forum whose basement contains small rooms similar to the brothel’s; see further p. 23.
- 52 Skinner takes him as a performer of cunnilingus on his sister “Lesbia” (1982 198–199); Butrica 2002 takes him as an *exoletus*.
- 53 See, e.g., Edwards 1993 99, 128–130, 132–133, Edwards 1997 68, 80–81; see also the ways in which Martial claims that slaves have erotic

- “power” over their masters (Kamen 2011 192–196, 198).
- 54 See, e.g., Ormand 2009 24, Blondell 2013 35.
- 55 See Richardson 1955 93–95, *RE* s.v. Paris 1535–1537.
- 56 As *Paridiani*; see Franklin 1987 103–104.
- 57 Shapiro 2004 7.
- 58 Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 244–248.
- 59 Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015a 236–238, Kamen and Levin-Richardson 2015b 449–450.
- 60 I appreciate the suggestion of Darcy Krasne and others on reinterpreting these graffiti as expressions of male-prostitute sexual agency.
- 61 Criteria might include location in the structure (are graffiti directly above a platform more likely to concern a prostitute?), other epigraphic appearances in the brothel (i.e., is there information in other graffiti with the same name to suggest a client or prostitute identity is more likely, keeping in mind also that they may not refer to the same individual?), and other epigraphic appearances at Pompeii (though this runs even higher risks of assimilating multiple individuals with the same name).
- 62 Bain 1991 56 and Varone 2003 208n.46 likewise emend καλός to καλῶς.
- 63 These two graffiti are nearly alone on their wall, too: *CIL* 4.2251, the name Iarinus, is recorded as having been written on the wall, although it can no longer be seen.
- 64 I appreciate the suggestion of Darcy Krasne on this matter. This name would also be appropriate for male slaves in general – especially ones who were bought to serve as sexual playthings for their master. For all instances of the name Syneros at Pompeii, see Franklin 1986 325–326.
- 65 Praise for Victor: *CIL* 4.2218, 2260 Add. p. 216, 2274 Add. p. 216 (note, however, that the name is fragmentary); other graffiti in the brothel with the name Victor: *CIL* 4.2209, 2258, 2294. Note that in *CIL* 4.2258, *Victor cum Attine | hic fuit*, “Victor with Atthis[?] fuks here,” Victor is connected with a woman, and thus Varone identifies him as a possible gigolo (Varone 2003 208; see also Varone 2005 96); for the various interpretations of two names joined with *cum*, however, see n. 15. For Victoria, see pp. 57–58, 123–124.
- 66 In another graffito from the brothel, Felix is connected with Fortunata: *Felix cum | Fortunata*” (*CIL* 4.2224; see also the fragmentary 2232); see, however, n. 15 regarding how to interpret *cum*. A few graffiti elsewhere at Pompeii represent a Felix as performing fellatio (*CIL* 4.1869 Add. p. 213, 3200, 5408 [which gives the price of 1 *as*]).
- 67 Compare Levin-Richardson 2013 340–341 on the ability of Pompeian women to experience sexual agency through reading aloud first-person penetrative sexual boasts.
- 68 Keegan 2013 88. For other graffiti concerning *pedicatio* in the structure, see Keegan 2013 85–87.
- 69 Keegan 2013 89.
- 70 While a female prostitute could have used an object or dildo to penetrate Batacarus, and we ought not discount this possibility, a casual reader probably assumed that Batacarus was penetrated by a male prostitute.
- 71 For more on Priapus, see p. 80.
- 72 Cf. Keegan 2013 89 on the graffiti of the possible Imperial paedagogium on the Palatine.

CONCLUSION

- 1 See Koloski-Ostrow 2011 54.
- 2 Varone 2003 214, Varone 2005 99.
- 3 Åshede 2016 934.
- 4 See, e.g., Laurence 2007 [1994] 86: “It is an important point that the city population would not have come into contact with prostitution unless they actively sought it out.” McGinn has already noted that at Pompeii, as well as at Rome, elite housing and structures where sex could be sold were check-to-jowl (2002 17, 32), and that literature, too, represents elites in frequent contact with prostitutes (e.g., *Ov. Tr.* 2.309–312, on which see McGinn 2002 21).
- 5 See, e.g., McGinn 2004 8, McGinn 2013 617–620, 624–629.
- 6 McGinn 2013 624–625, 628.
- 7 Strong 2016.
- 8 Severy-Hoven 2012 561; she uses this phrase in the context of the House of the Vettii’s (VI.15.1) frescoes of exposed and tortured bodies.
- 9 Brents and Hausbeck 2010 9.
- 10 See McGinn 2002 14 and McGinn 2004 233–236 on the historical rarity of purpose-built brothels.

- 11 Cf. Glazebrook 2016 173–174. On Greek prostitution, see, e.g., Glazebrook and Henry 2011a, Cohen 2015, Glazebrook and Tsakirgis 2016a.
- 12 See, e.g., Glazebrook 2016 189 for drinkware in possible Greek brothels.
- 13 Ault 2016. For features that have been used to identify Greek brothels, see Glazebrook 2016 172–194 and Trümper 2016 117–120.
- 14 Ault 2016 92. See also Trümper 2016 on possible places where sex was sold on Hellenistic Delos, and Scahill 2016 on the function of the South Stoa at Corinth.
- 15 Glazebrook and Tsakirgis 2016b 4–6; on locations, see also Glazebrook 2016 180–181.
- 16 Management of Greek brothels: Glazebrook and Tsakirgis 2016b 6; management of the purpose-built brothel: Zajac 2008 59.
- 17 Corner 2011, Glazebrook and Henry 2011b 4–8.
- 18 See, e.g., Glazebrook and Henry 2011b 5.
- 19 Flemming 1999 47.

APPENDIX A: EXCAVATION

HISTORY AND MATERIAL FINDS

- 1 All versions of the *Giornale dei soprastanti* correspond with one another in substance, if not identical wording, unless indicated otherwise: [OR] denotes the original handwritten daily journal of the supervisors now found in the Archivio dello Stato in Rome; [CR] indicates the handwritten copy made at the end of each month now in the Archivio dello Stato in Rome; [CN] indicates the handwritten end-of-month copy now in the Archivio Storico of the Soprintendenza di Napoli; where possible I direct readers to the corresponding location in Van der Poel and Poli Capri's typescript with "see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri." When I rely exclusively on Van der Poel and Poli Capri's typescript, I indicate this with "at Van der Poel and Poli Capri."
- 2 For the conversion of Neapolitan hands (the units used in the *GdSop*) to the metric system (1 palm = 26.4 centimeters), see Laidlaw 2007 634–635; the length of the *raschiatoio* is recorded in both Neapolitan hands (0.46 palms; *GdSop* May 31, 1862; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 83) and meters

(0.12 meters; *Notamenti* July 9, 1862), confirming the validity of the conversion rate above.

- 3 Fiorelli 1862 58; see further p. 32.
- 4 The finds from the days below were attributed by McGinn (2013 624n.76, 628 with n.97) to our structure, presumably relying on Van der Poel and Poli Capri's identification (I did much the same in Levin-Richardson 2009 139–141). I address each day's excavation location in turn; one element to note overall is that once the *Giornale dei soprastanti* names our structure a *lupanare* on June 4, 1862 (see the chart regarding the excavation of doorway 20 on p. 151), it is regularly referred to in this way.

- On June 11, 1862, excavation took place "nel vicolo che costeggia le Nuove Terme, all'ultimo vano che usciva sul passetto pensile" (*GdSop* June 11, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 97), which Van der Poel and Poli Capri identify as VII.12.19. However, the description indicates that the location is the Vicolo del Lupanare ("nel vicolo che costeggia le Nuove Terme"). Moreover, I suggest that the reference to the "passetto pensile" is not to the street now known as the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile, since this is often referred to (as on the previous day) in a circuitous and descriptive manner as the "secondo vicoletto, che si dirama dall'altro dell Terme Stabiane, andando verso le spalle del Calcidico" (*GdSop* June 10, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 95). Rather, I suggest that the "ultimo vano che usciva sul passetto pensile" is VII.12.17, since it, too, originally had a balcony overhanging the street (and indeed, there is no balcony on the next structure to the north, VII.12.16). Note, too, that excavation of VII.12.17 proper began the next day, and that the location there is described as "nella località a sinistra del Vicolo delle Terme Stabiane, e propriamente quella che è immediatamente dopo il lupanare, accosto al passetto pensile" (*GdSop* June 12, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 98).
- Van der Poel and Poli Capri similarly identify the location of excavation on June 26 and 27, 1862 ("nelle località a sinistra del Vicolo delle Terme Stabiane, e propriamente nell'ultima accosto al passetto

pensile”; “nell’ultima località a sinistra del Vicolo delle Terme Stabiane accosto al passetto pensile” [*GdSop* June 26–27, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 110–111]) as VII.12.19. The locations are described in a similar way to those excavated on June 11, 1862, and for the same reasons I believe that the structure referred to is likely VII.12.17. However, it is possible that a different space (perhaps VII.12.16) is meant to be understood, given that the location of VII.12.17 was often glossed with reference to the brothel, as on June 23, 1862 (“dopo il lupanare”; *GdSop* June 23, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 109), or June 28, 1862 (“casa che segue il lupanare”; *GdSop* June 28, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 111).

- Excavation took place on July 12, 1862, “nel vicolo che fiancheggia le nuove Terme ... alla soglia della bottega messa all’angolo sottoposto al passetto pensile” (*GdSop* July 12, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 121), identified by Van der Poel and Poli Capri as VII.12.18. Since the brothel was regularly referred to as a *lupanare* by now, it would be strange for it to be suddenly referred to as a *bottega*. Moreover, a similar description is given on June 14, 1862 (June 13 was a Sunday and no work was done), but with added details that suggest the place described on both June 12 and 14 must be VII.12.15, with its masonry counter and built-in terracotta vessels at the entrance (“nell’ultima bottega a sinistra del Vicoletto delle Terme Stabiane sottoposta al passetto pensile, all’entrata della quale trovasi un focolaretto con due fornacelle” [*GdSop* June 14, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 121]).
- On February 25, 1863, excavation took place “nello stanzino a destra entrando nel 1° vicolo perpendicolare a quello delle terme a partire dall’incrociamiento che fa col Vicolo del Calcidico [= Vicolo di Eumachia]” (*GdSop* February 25, 1863, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994d 41), which Van der Poel and Poli Capri take as VII.12.19. Their logic must be that the Vicolo del Calcidico is an error for the street now known as the Vicolo degli Scheletri, and that the first street perpendicular to the Vicolo del Lupanare (called here the “[vicolo] delle terme”) after its intersection with the Vicolo degli Scheletri is the Vicolo

del Balcone Pensile, and the first entrance on the right of that street is doorway 19 of the brothel. I think the passage instead refers to VII.13.19; this is the first doorway on the right of the Vicolo degli Scheletri (referred to in the passage as the “1° vicolo perpendicolare a quello delle terme”) after the Vicolo degli Scheletri’s intersection with the Vicolo del Calcidico. Indeed, VII.13.19 is a *cella meretricia*, which would be a good fit for the “stanzino” of the passage. Furthermore, the last time the brothel was excavated was June 4, 1862 (when doorway 20 was excavated), more than eight months before the date in question, and the brothel was regularly referred to as the *lupanare* by this time (as mentioned above).

- 5 Text from *GdSop* [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 80. There are no substantive differences between the versions of the *GdSop*.
- 6 Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 81 incorrectly identify this space as VII.4.6.
- 7 Text from *GdSop* [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 80–82. Note that the copies made of the *GdSop* [CR/CN; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 81] describe the height of the finds as “sul suolo” rather than “nel suolo” (*GdSop* [OR]); Fiorelli claims (erroneously, in my opinion; see p. 32) that these finds came from the “sommità delle terre” (1862 58). When these items were logged into the registry of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, errors were occasionally introduced as to which structure they came from; e.g., the findspot of the ground floor’s bronze items is erroneously described as “1° cubicolo della suddetta casa [VII.11.11], a sinistra dell’atrio” (*Notamenti* June 11, 1862).
- 8 Current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 9 Current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 10 Size in metric units: 0.7 palms = 18.5 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11 1862. See further pp. 34–35.

- 11 Size in metric units: 0.28 palms = 7.4 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58. See further pp. 35–36.
- 12 Size in metric units: 0.3 palms = 7.9 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 13 Current location: probably lost or destroyed (see p. 33); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 14 Current location: probably lost or destroyed (see p. 33); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 15 Size in metric units: 0.45 palms = 11.9 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* May 28, 1862, *Rapporto* May 28, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 16 May 29, 1862, was a “festa di doppio precetto” and no work was conducted (*GdSop* May 29, 1862; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 82).
- 17 Text from *GdSop* [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 82. There are no substantive differences between the versions of the *GdSop*.
- 18 Text from *GdSop* [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 83. Note that *GdSop* [CR] and Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 83 describe the item as a *raschiatora*, while *GdSop* [OR] uses the term *raschiatoja* and *GdSop* [CN] has *raschiotoia*.
- 19 Size in metric units: 0.46 palms = 12.1 centimeters; current location: MANN inv. 121178 (according to the *Notamenti*; this number does not exist in the current MANN database); sources: *Librette* May 31, 1862, *Notamenti* July 9, 1862; note that the architect’s report for May 31, 1862, cannot be found. See further p. 35.
- 20 Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 21 June 1, 1862 was a Sunday and no work was conducted (*GdSop* June 1, 1862; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 84). On June 2 and 3, 1862, excavation continued in VII.11.11 (see *GdSop* June 2–3, 1862; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 84).
- 22 Misidentified as VII.12.19 by Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 88; note that this must be VII.12.20, as it is described as the *second* doorway onto what we now call the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile; the copy of the *GdSop* in Naples is even more exact: “propriamente il secondo vano a dritta del vicolo perpendicolare a quello delle Nuove Terme [Stabian Baths]” (*GdSop* June 4, 1862 [CN]).
- 23 See above, n. 21.
- 24 Text from *GdSop* [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994c 84–89. Note that “2^{do}” has been added above the line to clarify which doorway was excavated. There are no substantive differences between the versions of the *GdSop*.
- 25 Size in metric units: 0.43 palms = 11.4 centimeters; current location: MANN inv. 119069 (seen in MANN storage by the author in 2015); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* April 23, 1889, Fiorelli 1862 58, de Vos and de Vos 1982 203; note that the architect’s report for June 4, 1862, cannot be found.
- 26 Size in metric units: 0.3 palms = 7.9 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862.
- 27 Size in metric units: 0.4 palms = 10.6 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862.
- 28 Size in metric units: 0.17 palms = 4.5 centimeters; current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862.
- 29 Current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 52, 58.
- 30 Current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 52, 58.
- 31 Size in metric units: 0.62 palms = 16.4 centimeters; current location: probably lost or destroyed (the *Librette* list the location as the “Museo Pompei” [I thank Eugene Dwyer for deciphering the handwriting], and Scattozza Hörich’s catalogue of glass finds still on-site at Pompeii [2011] does not have any entries for the brothel’s address, suggesting that the item has been lost or destroyed); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, Fiorelli 1862 58.
- 32 Current location: MANN (without inventory number); sources: *Librette* June 4, 1862, *Notamenti* June 11, 1862.
- 33 *GdSop* January 30, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b Jan/13.
- 34 *GdSop* February 3, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 6–7.

- 35 *GdSop* February 5, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 9.
- 36 Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 9–10. Note that in the entry for the next day, the space being excavated is specifically mentioned as being on the upper level: “Dopo il 3° vano del piano superiore, a partire dall’angolo del sopramenzionato vicolo” (*GdSop* February 6, 1862, at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 11).
- 37 “Bronzo = Un cardine con la sua piastrina dissaldata, alto senza la piastrina pal. 0.15 [= 4 centimeters]. Una piastrina di altro cardine, di lati 0.25 [= 6.6 centimeters] = Varii frammenti indescrivibili” (*GdSop* February 5, 1862 at Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 9–10).
- 38 *GdSop* February 21, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 20.
- 39 Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 20–21 identify this space as VII.12.19, interpreting the street in question as the Vicolo del Balcone Pensile.
- 40 “Bronzo = un piccolo candelabro in buona conservazione, con la sua coppa dissaldata. Il suo bastone ed i piedi sono nodosi; tra un piede e l’altro vedesi un pezzo sporgente a guise di foglia. Al di sopra si dirama in tre per reggere la coppa; il medesimo è alto pal. 1.11 [= 29.3 centimeters], senza la coppa, la quale è di diametro pal. 0.26 [= 6.9 centimeters] = Un cardine con la sua piastrina, alto pal. 0.16 [= 4.2 centimeters] = Due chiodi = Una moneta di modulo piccolo. Vetro = Una bottiglia a palla, alta pal. 0.58 [= 15.3 centimeters]. Terracotta = Una lucerna ad un lume rotta nel centro, nel becco e nel fondo” (*GdSop* February 21, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 20–21).
- 41 Fiorelli 1862 59 suggests that scavengers, “obliando di penetrare nel *maenianum*, lasciarono a noi la fortuna d’invenirvi” both the lampstand and vessel with food (see p. 90 for the latter). These items did not come from the ground floor as McGinn suggests (McGinn 2013 628).
- 42 *GdSop* February 22, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 21. As with the previous day’s entry, Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 21 identify this space as VII.12.19.
- 43 “Bronzo = Un bilico con la corrispondente piastrina, alto pal. 0.20 [= 5.3 centimeters] = Un manico di vaso, di corda pal. 0.18 [= 4.8 centimeters] = Forse un tasto cerusico lungo pal. 0.25 [= 6.6 centimeters] = Un’agocella lunga pal. 0.38 [= 10 centimeters] = Una moneta di modulo medio corrosa. Terracotta = Una lucerna ad un lume con vernice rossa di diametro pal. 0.38 [= 10 centimeters]. Ossu = Un dente di cinghiale. Conchiglie = Cinque conchiglie piccole ed un guscio di lumaca” (*GdSop* February 22, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 21, though note that their transcription has errors). For the identification and translation of *bilico*, *agocella* (= *agucella*?), and *tasto*, see pp. 89–90.
- 44 *GdSop* February 25, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 26; note that Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 26 identify the location as VII.12.19.
- 45 “Bronzo = Una caldaia frammentata alta pal. 0.90 [= 23.8 centimeters], in cui era riposto: Commestibile = Una quantità di cipolle carbonizzate = Una quantità di legumi, forse faggiuoli o cicerchie” (*GdSop* February 25, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 26); Fiorelli 1862 59 (note that he describes the vessel as a “*caccabus* cioè di rame” [copper vessel]). See further p. 90.
- 46 Note that Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 26 misidentify the location of the excavation on February 27, 1862 as VII.1.42.
- 47 “una grappa in bronzo per stante, alta pal. 0.30 [= 7.9 centimeters]” (*GdSop* March 1, 1862 [CN]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 30).
- 48 Excavation takes places in the “località a sinistra del vicoletto delle Terme Stabiane” (*GdSop* May 26, 1862 [OR]; see also in Van der Poel and Poli Capri 1994b 79).

APPENDIX B: GRAFFITI

- 1 Textual graffiti that are no longer visible: *CIL* 4.2184 Add. p. 215, 2193, 2195, 2198 Add. p. 215, 2201a, 2206 Add. p. 215, 2209, 2214, 2215, 2216 Add. p. 215, 2220, 2221, 2223, 2224, 2228, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2238, 2239, 2240 Add. p. 215, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2243a, 2245a, 2249 Add. p. 215, 2251, 2256, 2257, 2264, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273 Add. p. 216, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2279 Add. p. 216, 2283a, 2286, 2287

- Add. p. 216, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296 Add. p. 216, and 3101a.
- 2 Because only two-thirds of the corpus is still visible, I do not include information about the size of letters or the height from the ground (although I do refer to these features occasionally in the preceding chapters). For those who would like to consult this information, see the relevant entries of EDR (whose measurements are calculated from the scale drawings and occasional notes about letter height in *CIL*); Varone 2012 includes height from the ground (with some errors that I have noted later) and excellent photographs of nearly all the graffiti still visible in the structure. For a superb visualization of the graffiti from the west wall of room f (based on 3D laser scans), see Balzani 2005 fig. 3.
 - 3 Benefiel 2011 22–23.
 - 4 Architectural(?) design in room e (published here for the first time); bird in room e (listed under *CIL* 4.2248; Add. p. 215 suggests it should be listed with *CIL* 4.2249); phallus in room e (at *CIL* 4.2254); two profiles in room f (one mentioned at *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215; one published here for the first time); phallus in room f (see *CIL* 4.2181 Add. p. 215); ship in room f (published here for the first time).
 - 5 Profile in room e (at *CIL* 4.2248); phallus in room f (at *CIL* 4.2237); phallus in the hallway (Fiorelli 1862 48).
 - 6 See, e.g., Benefiel 2016 82n.5.
 - 7 Balzani 2005 70 hints at new graffiti discovered on the west wall of room f by these means, but these are not yet published (to my knowledge).
 - 8 I signal changes in wall with bold, italicized entries.
 - 9 Fiorelli reads this as *Salvi filia* (Fiorelli 1862 49), which *CIL* follows with the caveat that the first letter of the second word is unclear and may be a “p.” Varone reads this as *salve Ilia* (2003 196, 2005 97, 2012 340). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani follow *CIL* and thus transcribe it as *Salvi filia* (2009 144), though they list it under both the name *Ilia* (2009 123), and *Salvi filia*? (as at 2009 123, 132–133). The drawing in *CIL* (plate XXXV 31) clearly has a slanting bar at the top of the “f,” and in both Varone’s photograph (2012 340, 342) and the drawing in *CIL*, the stem of this letter shows more of a curve than the vertical mark that precedes it. On the other hand, the top bar of the “f” is no longer visible, and so it is conceivable that the letter in question is the second vertical mark of the “e” of *salve*.
 - 10 Or “hail, Ilia!” if we take the graffito as *salve Ilia* (see n. 9); note that Varone takes *Ilia* as a female *gentilicium* (2005 97).
 - 11 Noted by Fiorelli 1862 49, *CIL* 4.2173 Add. p. 215, Langner 2001 cat. 894 (though without drawing).
 - 12 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani sometimes list *CIL* 4.2174 under the name *Ias* (2009 122, 133), and other times under *Iias* (2009 123, 131).
 - 13 *CIL* 4.2231 Add. p. 215 is (accidentally, one presumes) not included under the name *Magnus* at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 131, though it is elsewhere included in their tables.
 - 14 Note that the “e”s in this graffito are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). There may be an accidental interpunct between the “g” and “o” of *ego*.
 - 15 Note that Bragantini mislabels this as the east wall (Bragantini 1997 534).
 - 16 Note that the “e”s in the word *bene* are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter); *CIL* records a stray letter interrupting *bene*, through Varone reads this as a mistaken additional stroke of the letter “e” (Varone 2012 335), with which I agree. Because the letters at the end of this graffito overlap with those at the beginning of *CIL* 4.2177, there is confusion as to how many vertical strokes are in the last word. *CIL* reads the verb as *futuis*, which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 144–145 and I follow. Varone reads the verb as *futues* (Varone 1994 82n.130, 2003 196n.17, 2012 335), which EDR follows.
 - 17 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not include the theta in their transcription (2009 145).
 - 18 For theta indicating someone who has died, see p. 177n.97.
 - 19 The index of *CIL* (p. 749) as well as Varone and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani read *Facilis* as a *cognomen* (Varone 1994 38n.37, Varone 2003 20, Varone 2005 97, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 122, 131, 145), and I have translated it accordingly.
 - 20 The graffito is fragmentary, but has tentatively been restored as indicating the name *Facilis*; see further at 2276.
 - 21 The transcription is from Solin 2008 67 (who reads with hesitation), and is followed by

- EDR. Fiorelli (1862 50) and *CIL* read this as *Nica Creteissiane*, with the former adding that it may describe a woman named *Nice* from Crete. The graffito is listed under the name *Nica* by Savunen 1997 111n.155, and under the name *Nice* by McGinn 2004 300. Varone reads the second part of the graffito as the (male) name *Cretus Issianus*, without listing *Nica* in his catalogue of names (Varone 2005 97). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list *Nica* and *Cretus Issianus* as separate names in one table (2009 122–123), but do not include *Cretus Issianus* in another where we would expect it (2009 131; see *Nica* at 2009 132).
- 22 Solin 2008 67 restores the second word as *C(h)re(s)te* and translates the second and third words as “you, Chrestus yourself.” For the *cognomen* *Chrestus*, see the index of *CIL* (p. 748). For alternate translations, see n. 21.
- 23 *CIL* transcribes the graffito as *PANTA* but notes that the reading is uncertain; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list *Panta* as a name with a question mark (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 123, 132; at 145 it is listed without a question mark, however). Varone (2005 97) does not include it in his catalogue of names. EDR does not capitalize the word.
- 24 Not listed in *CIL*’s index of *cognomina* (p. 752), nor in Varone’s catalogue of names in the brothel (Varone 2005 97), but taken as a name by Cantarella with Jacobelli 1998 90 and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 123 and 132 [which include a question mark after the name]; 2009 145 lists it without a question mark). Πάντρα is attested as a woman’s name in Kallipolis in the first centuries BCE to CE (*LGPN* 4 p. 268).
- 25 Translated as “Bravo Paris” by Biville 2003 233, who takes *calos* as a transliteration of the Greek adverb καλῶς rather than the Greek adjective καλός; I view it as a transliteration of the latter, partially based on analogy with the graffito *calos Castrensis s(alutem)* (*CIL* 4.2180) directly next to it, in which the *calos* cannot be adverbial.
- 26 There is a gap between *Castrensis* and the following “s,” which (according to *CIL*) may have been added later.
- 27 *CIL* records the letters *IA* and *L* nearby.
- 28 Note that the reading of *CIL* 4.2205 is uncertain; see further at 2205.
- 29 Noted at *CIL* 4.2181; the doubt expressed at Add. p. 215 is probably due to the fact that the phallus is not directly above the name *Iarinus*, as suggested in *CIL* 4.2181.
- 30 *CIL* notes that this graffito was written over an erased graffito seemingly beginning with the letter *C*. Varone notes that the reading is uncertain (Varone 2012 338).
- 31 Note that the “e”s in the first three lines of this graffito are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). The third line from *et* onward is in a different hand (see *CIL* plate III 2 and Varone 2012 341); the fourth line is in yet another hand (Varone 2012 341); the phrase *omnibus Nucherinis | felicia* may be in yet another hand (Ben-efiel 2004 357). EDR (mistakenly?) has *felicia* for the third line. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani take *felicia* as an individual name (2009 61, 62n.374, 68, 122), and assimilate her with the *Felida* of *CIL* 4.2199 and *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215 (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 68, 122; note that at 68n.465 they cite *CIL* 4.2202 as a comparison where they should cite *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215). However, the word is not capitalized in their transcription at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 145.
- 32 Note that Bragantini mislabels this as the east wall (Bragantini 1997 532).
- 33 Not seen. Note that the “e”s in the second and third word are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* has the last word as *futuet*, though Add. p. 215 suggests *futuit*, which EDR and I follow.
- 34 There is damage to the beginning of lines 1 and 2 (see *CIL* plate XXXVI 33 and Varone 2012 335); Fiorelli reads *S ... emnes | ... e futues* (Fiorelli 1862 51); *CIL* reads *[Sol]lemnes | b[e]ne futues*, though parts of the first letter of the graffito can be seen in the drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVI 33.
- 35 EDR posits the correction *Sollemnis* for the name *Sollemnes* in *CIL* 4.2218a. I take *futues* as a misspelling of the present-tense *futuis* rather than the future tense, and translate accordingly.
- 36 Note that the first “e” of the name, the second “e” of *bene*, and the “e” of *futues* are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter); compare the “e”s of *CIL* 4.2185. Note as well the crossbar of the “o,” which has not been commented on previously. Fiorelli reads *Sollemnis | bene futues* (Fiorelli 1862 51); *CIL* reads *Sollemnes | bene*

- futues*, though with uncertainty, suggesting the first word on the second line may be *beni*.
- 37 EDR posits the correction *Sollemnis* for the name *Sollemnes* in *CIL* 4.2218a. I take *futues* as a misspelling of the present-tense *futuis* rather than the future tense, and translate accordingly.
- 38 Note that the second “e” of *bene* and the “e” of *futues* are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 39 I take *futues* as a misspelling of the present-tense *futuis* rather than the future tense, and translate accordingly.
- 40 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* records the letter *S* of another inscription nearby.
- 41 For the etymology of the (made-up) name *Scordopordonius*, see *CIL* and pp. 60–61.
- 42 The height given by Varone, 108 centimeters above the masonry platform, cannot be correct, as it was written below *CIL* 4.2185, which is listed as 60 centimeters above the platform (Varone 2012 335).
- 43 *CIL* (and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 145, following *CIL*) include the letter *B* after the name, though this is not included by Fiorelli (Fiorelli 1862 51) nor by EDR.
- 44 One possibility is that the letter, if written in the manner of a Greek beta, might indicate a price of “two (asses).” For Greek letters indicating a price in Pompeian sexual graffiti, see Varone 2002 [1994] 147n.255 on *CIL* 4.2028.
- 45 *CIL* records the letters *CAR* nearby.
- 46 Taken by the index of *CIL* (p. 754) as a possible *cognomen* and by Varone (2005 97) as a male name.
- 47 Not noticed before, to my knowledge. Uses “i” of *futui* (*CIL* 4.2191) and “f” of *Felicam* (*CIL* 4.2199) as the back of the head.
- 48 Varone mistakenly locates this graffito above the masonry platform (Varone 2012 336).
- 49 Note that the graffito mentioned in the notes of *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215 is fragmentary; see further at 2200 Add. p. 215.
- 50 Not seen. Note that the “e” of the last word is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 51 The index of *CIL* (p. 750) takes the first name as the *cognomen* *Harpocras*; Varone (2005 97) has *Arphocras*; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 122, 130) have *Arpocras*; see the various spellings of the Greek Ἀρποκράς at Biville 2003 232. Fiorelli takes *Drauca* as a male name (Fiorelli 1862 51), though Savunen, McGinn, and Varone list *Drauca* as a woman (Savunen 1997 111n.155, McGinn 2004 298, Varone 2005 97); on the name, see further Nikolaev 2014 318–319, especially 318n.21.
- 52 Note that the “e” of *pedico* is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 53 Note that first-person verbs are rare in Pompeian graffiti, and so the first two translations are more likely than the third.
- 54 Not seen.
- 55 Note that the graffito mentioned in the notes of *CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215 is fragmentary; see further at 2200 Add. p. 215.
- 56 EDR does not capitalize the first letter.
- 57 Fiorelli restores this tentatively as *Lucrio* (Fiorelli 1862 51), a reading followed by Varone (Varone 2005 97).
- 58 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). Only *bene-dat-Nonius* is agreed on. *Pdic* is written in taller, skinnier letters to the left of the rest of the graffito, which suggests a different hand; *CIL* also suggests it should be taken separately. The end of the first line is indecipherable, but has space for six or so letters. For the last line, see the notes of the *CIL* entry and Add. p. 215; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani have *authri*, *CIL*’s reading, for the last line (2009 145). *CIL* records the letters *CMII* and *A* nearby.
- 59 Note that “ass-fck” seems to have been written separately; see n. 58. Ἀπολλωνία is a common Greek name, with more than 170 attestations according to a search of *LGP*N; the index of *CIL* (p. 753, though with hesitation) and Varone (2005 97) list *Aplonia* as a female *nomen/gentilicium*. The *Nonius* of this graffito is taken by the index of *CIL* (with hesitation; p. 745), and Varone (2005 97) as a male *nomen/gentilicium*. For *dare* in a sexual context, see, e.g., Mart. 12.96.7, Adams 1981 127; for another graffito using *dare* in a sexual manner, see, e.g., *CIL* 4.5007 (on which see Varone 2002 [1994] 134).
- 60 Not seen. Note that the first “e” of *futuere* is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). The second and third lines were crossed out in antiquity (see *CIL* plate XXXV 30); I provide *CIL*’s reading of the second line,

- though the entry expresses doubt, suggesting that the beginning of the line, if there is a letter before the “a,” looks like a “v.” Varone, however, takes the second line as the female name *[H]abenda* (2003 198n.29); see further n. 61.
- 61 Varone restores the second line as the female name *[H]abenda* (2003 198.n29, 2005 97), which is followed by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 131, 145; cf. EDR’s *[h]abenda*; note that the index of *CIL* has no entry for *Habenda* or *Abenda* under *cognomina*.
- 62 Note that the name in *CIL* 4.2278 is very fragmentary; see further at 2278.
- 63 For *Felícula* spelled as *Felida* in Pompeian graffiti, see, e.g., Biville 2003 227–228. The “f” is most likely meant to call to mind *futui*, “I fucked,” on analogy with the graffito below it (*CIL* 4.2200 Add. p. 215); cf. Varone’s restoration of *CIL* 4.5048 as *Euplia f(ellat) a(ssibus) V n(ummum)* based on the second line of that graffito, which records *Euplia fela(f)* (Varone 2002 [1994] 147).
- 64 Note that the “e” of *futue* is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). I agree with the reading of Fiorelli (1862 52) and Varone (2012 339) that the first word is *Feliclām* rather than *Felida* (as at *CIL*, and following *CIL*, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 145). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 145 transcribe the verb as *futui*, following *CIL*; see Add. p. 215, however. The notes of *CIL* mention that the name *MARKAS* (written in Oscan), is nearby (on which see, e.g., Fiorelli 1862 52, Fiorelli 1873 99, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 60), as are the letters *HER*, which *CIL* suggests is the beginning of *Hermēros*. Varone (2005 97) and EDR agree with *CIL*’s restoration of *Hermēros*, though Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 (e.g., 122) do not list this graffito under their entries for *Hermēros*. *CIL* additionally records a stray letter *A* nearby.
- 65 For *Felícula* spelled as *Felida* in Pompeian graffiti, see, e.g., Biville 2003 227–228.
- 66 Varone (2005 97) lists *CIL* 4.2235 under the name *Markus/Markas*; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 60) say that it is the Latin version of the Oscan *Markas*.
- 67 Varone (2005 97) lists the *Marcus Anicetus* of *CIL* 4.2296 Add. p. 216 separately from the entry with *Marcus/Markas*.
- 68 Note that the “e” of *ubique* is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* and EDR offer *Scepsidi* as the corrected version of *Scepsini*.
- 69 The index of *CIL* (p. 753), Varone (2005 97), and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 123, 132) takes *Scepsini* to be a form of the female *cognomen* *Scepsis*. For the name *Skepsis*, see especially Solin 2010 257–258.
- 70 Varone (2005 97) lists *CIL* 4.2235 under the name *Markus/Markas*; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 60) say that it is the Latin version of the Oscan *Markas*.
- 71 Varone (2005 97) lists the *Marcus Anicetus* of *CIL* 4.2296 Add. p. 216 separately from the entry with *Marcus/Markas*.
- 72 Not seen. An alternate reading, at *CIL*, is for the last two letters to be *II* (presumably indicating a price of two *asses*), although *CIL* also suggests that these letters, whatever they are, may in fact be from a different graffito.
- 73 For an alternate reading, see n. 72.
- 74 *CIL* reads *horibus*, which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 62, 145 repeat in their transcription. However, Add. p. 465 reads *moribus*, with Diehl 1910 cat. 454, Varone 1994 134n.226, Solin 2008 66, and EDR following; *moribus* is attested elsewhere at Pompeii (see, e.g., McGinn 2004 44n.214, Solin 2008 66, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 62n.377, Williams 2010 [1999] 41), as well. *CIL* records the letters *HIS* nearby.
- 75 Trans. Williams 2014 497. If we take *CIL*’s reading of *horibus* for *moribus*, the graffito would read “Restituta with the pretty face.”
- 76 Note that Solin 2008 66 takes *mula* as a “derivative appellation” rather than a name (see also Solin 2012 103).
- 77 Scholars regularly assume that *Mola* and *Mula* are variants of the same name; see, e.g., Zangemeister at *CIL* 4.2204, Varone 2005 97; McGinn (2004 299) lists both *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and *CIL* 4.2204 under *Mula* (though does not include *CIL* 4.2237 Add. p. 215); Varone lists all three under the entry *Mula/Mόλα* (Varone 2003 200, 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani sometimes list all three as separate names (e.g., 2009 131), sometimes in various combinations under the entry for *Mula* (2009 122 lists all three together under the name *Mula*; 123 and 133 list only *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and 2204 under *Mula*). Note that Solin thinks *mula* is not a name, but

- an appellation (2008 66; see also Solin 2012 103).
- 78 Some take *Mula* to be the corrected form of the name (see, e.g., Savunen 1997 111n.155, McGinn 2004 299; see further n. 77). Solin (2008 66; see also Solin 2012 103) takes *mula* (or *mola*, as here) not as a name, but as a “derisive appellation.”
- 79 Scholars regularly assume that *Mola* and *Mula* are variants of the same name; see, e.g., Zangemeister at *CIL* 4.2204, Varone 2005 97; McGinn (2004 299) lists both *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and *CIL* 4.2204 under *Mula* (though does not include *CIL* 4.2237 Add. p. 215); Varone lists all three under the entry *Mula/Mόλα* (Varone 2003 200, 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani sometimes list all three as separate names (2009 131), sometimes in various combinations under the entry for *Mula* (2009 122 lists all three together under the name *Mula*; 123 and 133 list only *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and 2204 under *Mula*). Note that Solin thinks *mula* is not a name, but an appellation (2008 66; see also Solin 2012 103).
- 80 Not noticed before, to my knowledge.
- 81 I follow Varone’s transcription of the graffito as *Iar* with, according to Varone, a most unusual form for “a” (Varone 2003 196, Varone 2012 340); EDR follows this reading as well. *CIL* reads this as *iattr* (which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 145 replicate), though *CIL* also postulates that this might be the beginning of the name *Iarinus*. Listed under the *cognomen* *Iarinus* (but with hesitation) by index of *CIL* (p. 750) and Varone 2005 97.
- 82 Restored as the name *Iarinus* by *CIL* and Varone 2005 97. See n. 81.
- 83 Not seen.
- 84 Listed as *Callidrome*, a female name, in Savunen 1997 111n.155 and McGinn 2004 297, though it is not listed as a *cognomen* in the index of *CIL* (p. 748), nor is Καλλιδρόμη attested as name in *LGP*N. The index of *CIL* (p. 748), Varone (Varone 2005 97), and *LGP*N (3A p. 229) list the graffito under *Callidromus* (a male *cognomen*). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani alternate between *Callidromus* (2009 122, 133) and *Callidrome* (2009 130).
- 85 Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 86 Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 87 Proclus is an acceptable (and not uncommon) transliteration of the Greek name Πρόκλος; see *CIL*’s index of *cognomina* (p. 752) and *LGP*N 3A p. 377 (which does not include this graffito in its entry for Πρόκλος, but does include the *Proclus* of *CIL* 4.1281).
- 88 Not seen. *CIL* records numerous “m”s or “a”s underneath.
- 89 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 is uncertain; see further at 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 90 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 91 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146 do not capitalize *victoria* in their transcription of the graffito (making it seem as if it is the noun “victory” rather than a name); EDR transcribes it the same way. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani take it as a name all other times, however (2009 123, 132, 133).
- 92 Verg. *Aen.* 2.1.
- 93 Not seen.
- 94 The gender is listed as unknown by Varone (Varone 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize the word in their transcription of the graffito (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146), but otherwise take it as a name (2009 123).
- 95 Not seen.
- 96 Not seen. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 123, 146) preserve the original reading in *CIL*, which has an omicron in place of a lunate sigma in the middle of the first word; another time they have the name as Μουσιος (2009 131). For the fourth letter as a lunate sigma, see Add. p. 215.
- 97 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). There are a few (between one and three, according to *CIL*) indecipherable letters after *futu*. *Novims* can clearly be seen in Varone’s photograph (Varone 2012 334), was posited in *CIL*, and is included in EDR. The name is not included by Varone in his list of names from the brothel (Varone 2003 200, Varone 2005 97), nor is it included in the transcription provided by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146, nor in their lists of names (though they mention *novimus* in a footnote

- [2009 146n.725]). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani's transcription follows *CIL*, reading after *bene: fut[uitnucim s]* (2009 146).
- 98 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 is uncertain; see further at 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 99 Note that the first “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 100 EDR corrects *Sollemnes* to *Sollemnis*.
- 101 Listed as a *cognomen* by the index of *CIL* (p. 749) and by Varone (2003 199, 2005 97). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list this as a name (2009 122), but also suggest that it may refer to the month (2009 60).
- 102 Not seen. While there is difficulty reading the last two letters (see *CIL* plate XXXVI 36), *CIL*'s reading of *Iarinus* must be correct.
- 103 Note that the reading of *CIL* 4.2205 is uncertain; see further at 2205.
- 104 Not seen.
- 105 Not seen.
- 106 Not seen.
- 107 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that *Fortuna* may be an abbreviation for *Fortunata* (2009 122n.606); if this is the case, one would add *CIL* 4.2266.
- 108 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani capitalize *vera*, too (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146), though it is not listed as a name in their tables.
- 109 Not seen. Varone (2003 207) reads the last part of the graffito as *a(ssibus) V*, which I follow; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani offer both that reading and *a(ve) V(ictoria)* for the last part of the graffito (2009 121).
- 110 Using Guzzo and Scarano Ussani's alternate reading of the ending (2009 121) as *a(ve) V(ictoria)*, the graffito could read “Victorie [= Victoria]! Hail Victoria!”
- 111 EDR restores the graffito as either *Non(as) Aug(ustas)* or *Non(is) Aug(ustis)*.
- 112 Taken as a date by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 60 and EDR (see n. 111), which I (tentatively) follow.
- 113 The second line of the graffito is no longer visible, nor is there a drawing; I therefore follow *CIL*'s transcription of the second line as *[s]odalis*. *CIL* also notes that the reading of the second line is unsure and it is written in smaller letters than the first line; this may suggest that these lines were written by different individuals.
- 114 *CIL* records that *VE|V* can be seen preceding this graffito.
- 115 The list at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 123 does not include *CIL* 4.2231 Add. p. 215 under *Magnus* (presumably an oversight, as it does include both *CIL* 4.2231 and 2174 at 2009 131); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani sometimes list *CIL* 4.2174 under the name *Ias* (e.g., 2009 122, 133), and other times as *Iias* (2009 123, 131).
- 116 Fiorelli reads this as *Felix f(utuit) pu(ellam)*, without the second line (Fiorelli 1862 54); *CIL* reads the first line as *Felix fu pu*. Varone restores the first line as *Felix futu(it)* (Varone 2012 331), which EDR and I (with modification) follow.
- 117 Not seen.
- 118 Not seen. The name is listed with a question mark by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 123, but otherwise without a question mark (2009 132, 133).
- 119 See Varone 2003 197 for the corrected options of the name; note that Σωσᾶς is an attested Greek name (see *LGPn* s.v. Σωσᾶς).
- 120 Not seen. Read as *Marc(us)* by Fiorelli (Fiorelli 1862 54).
- 121 Listed as the *cognomen* *Marca* (but with hesitation) by the index of *CIL* (p. 751); listed under *Markus/Markas* by Varone (2003 200, 2005 97); listed under *Marca* by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 123, 131, but said to be the same name as the Oscan *Markas* at other points (2009 60).
- 122 Varone (2005 97) lists the *Marcus Anicetus* of *CIL* 4.2296 Add. p. 216 separately.
- 123 Not seen. Since this was not seen by Zange-meister, either, *CIL* suggests that this may be a duplicate entry for *CIL* 4.2233.
- 124 Phallus not seen. I follow *CIL*'s transcription, which includes an “l” after the “s” in the second line, though Add. p. 215 notes that the final “l” of the graffito is uncertain. According to *CIL*, there is a undecipherable mark between the “s” and “l”; it could be the crossbar of a capital “a.”
- 125 If we follow *CIL* Add. p. 215 that the final “l” of the graffito is uncertain, the solitary “s” would still be interpreted as *s(alutem)*, “gr(eetings).”
- 126 Scholars regularly assume that *Mola* and *Mula* are variants of the same name; see, e.g., Zange-meister at *CIL* 4.2204, Varone 2005 97; McGinn (2004 299) lists both *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and *CIL* 4.2204 under *Mula* (though does not include *CIL* 4.2237 Add.

- p. 215); Varone lists all three under the entry *Mula*/Μόλα (Varone 2003 200, 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani sometimes list all three as separate names (e.g., 2009 131), sometimes in various combinations under the entry for *Mula* (2009 122 lists all three together under the name *Mula*; 123 and 133 list only *CIL* 4.2203 Add. p. 215 and 2204 under *Mula*). Note that Solin thinks *mula* is not a name, but an appellation (2008 66; see also Solin 2012 103).
- 127 Not seen. Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 128 Not seen.
- 129 EDR capitalizes *issa* (implying that they might take it as a separate name), and indeed Varone lists it under his catalogue of names in the brothel (2003 200, 2005 97). However, *Issa* is not listed in the index of *cognomina* in *CIL* (p. 750), and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize *issa*, indicating that they do not take it as a name (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146), nor do they list it as a name in their tables. For the translation of *issa* (= *ipsa*) as equivalent to *domina*, see Väänänen 1959 65. *Fabia* is listed as a female *gentilicium* by Varone (Varone 2005 97).
- 130 Perhaps partly seen: I discerned two “s”s on the wall that may be part of this graffito or *CIL* 4.2215. Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 131 For the name as Hortensius, see Varone 2003 197.
- 132 Not seen.
- 133 The index of *CIL* (p. 752) and EDR restore the name as *Phosphorus*.
- 134 Not seen.
- 135 EDR takes *IIC* at the end of the graffito as numerals, though these letters, and their meaning, are not sufficiently clear. In addition, they may have been written in another hand (see drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVI 50).
- 136 Not seen; Zangemeister (at *CIL*) could not find it either.
- 137 Listed as a female *nomen/gentilicium* by the index of *CIL* (p. 743, with hesitation), and Varone (2003 203, 2005 97). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize the word (2009 146), nor is it listed as a name in their tables.
- 138 Not seen. EDR transcribes this lowercase, and offers that it may be *olim*.
- 139 Listed as a partial name of indeterminate gender by Varone (2005 97), and restored with these possible options at Varone 2003 199n.32. While not capitalized (as a name should be) in the transcription of Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 146, it is included as *Clim.* . . in one of their tables of names (2009 122). If the word is *olim*, as EDR restores it, it would be translated as “once.”
- 140 Not seen; described by Fiorelli (Fiorelli 1862 48).
- 141 Note that a crossbar has been added to what should have been the “c” of *Fructus*, turning it into an “e,” and the “s” is written almost like the “t.”
- 142 *FruEtus* [sic] and *Fructus* are listed separately in the tables of names in Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 122, 131).
- 143 *FruEtus* [sic] of *CIL* 4.2244 is listed separately from *Fructus* in the tables of names in Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 122, 131).
- 144 Not seen.
- 145 *FruEtus* [sic] of *CIL* 4.2244 is listed separately from *Fructus* in the tables of names in Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 122, 131).
- 146 Not noticed before, to my knowledge.
- 147 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 148 Varone lists the height of *CIL* 4.2246 as 208 centimeters and *CIL* 4.2247 as 215 centimeters (Varone 2012 328–329), though he must have transposed these, as *CIL* 4.2246 is above *CIL* 4.2247.
- 149 *CIL* 4.3101a is listed as below this; see further at 3101a.
- 150 The lighting conditions were too poor to check the reading. The beginning of the second line has been damaged (see the drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVI 19). Note that the “e”s of *quendam* and [I]uculentissim[e] are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). I use Varone’s reading of the second line (Varone 2012 329), as does EDR. *CIL* has [I]uculentissimo rut, which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani follow (2009 147); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 147) also have the last word of the first line as *quendaim*, based on the ambiguous transcription in *CIL*. *CIL* and Varone suggest that the second line was written by a different person (Varone 2012 329; see the photograph in Varone 2012 329).

- 151 Translation of the last line after Varone's restoration (see n. 150).
- 152 Varone lists the height of *CIL* 4.2246 as 208 centimeters and *CIL* 4.2247 as 215 centimeters, respectively (Varone 2012 328–329), though he must have transposed these, as *CIL* 4.2246 Add. p. 465 is above *CIL* 4.2247.
- 153 Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* notes letters in another hand before the second line, which are tentatively restored (by *CIL*) as *MA*.
- 154 Not seen. Described in *CIL* as *hominis facies*, “the face of a man,” to the left of *CIL* 4.2248 Add. p. 215; see also Langner 2001 cat. 531 (without drawing).
- 155 Fiorelli 1862 55, Langner 2001 cat. 1768 (though without drawing).
- 156 Not seen. *CIL* transcribes the second name as *Messio*, but with doubt, admitting it might be *Mysi*. Varone transcribes it as *Mysin[e]* (Varone 2003 196, 2005 97), which I follow in the translation. EDR and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 147) have it as *Messio* (the latter noting Varone's alternate transcription [Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147n.729]). The transcription here is after the drawing in *CIL* (plate XXXVI 12). *CIL*, along with Add. p. 215, note the additional letters CC[or E]HNωλ (the reading is uncertain) and *IVS* below the graffito.
- 157 The index of *CIL* (with hesitation; p. 751) and Varone take the second name as the female name *Mysis*, and Varone lists both this graffito and *CIL* 4.2250 Add. p. 215 under that name (Varone 2003 198, Varone 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147 transcribe it as *Messio*, and list it under the name *Messius* (2009 122, 123, 131).
- 158 Note that the “e”s of the first line are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* (and following *CIL*, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147) and EDR transcribe the name as *Caius*; Varone (2012 328) has *Ceus* (as a mistake for *Cei*us). The difficulty is whether a mark that appears after the first letter is (1) the left bar of an “a” (as *CIL* and others have it) or (2) extraneous to the graffito, as Varone and I take it. The second line has been damaged (erased, according to *CIL*). I follow Varone's reading (2012 328) of the last line (as does EDR), which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani read as *edicum quam serus* (as the transcription in *CIL* seems to have it).
- 159 Varone takes the first name as *Caius* (Varone 2005 97) or *Cei*us (Varone 2012 328), and the second name as *Mysis* (Varone 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani take the first name as *Caius* and the second as *Mysis* (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 122, 123, 130, 131).
- 160 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2249 Add. p. 215 is contested; see n. 156.
- 161 Not seen.
- 162 Note y *CIL* 4.2205 is incomplete and the reading is unsure; see further at 2205.
- 163 *CIL* notes other letters, of uncertain reading, below the graffito: I[or S]MA[or AMA]RI.
- 164 Note that Guzzo and Scarano Ussani's transcription (2009 147) does not indicate that the sigmas are lunate. For possible mistakes in the Greek, see Varone 2003 208n.46.
- 165 I agree with Varone's suggestion (2003 208n.46) that the writer, attempting to replicate in Greek the common formula *bene futuis*, has mistakenly written the adjective καλός for the adverb καλῶς. In the second translation I offer, I take καλός as written (that is, as an adjective); for the nominative in place of the vocative (as would be expected in this construction), see Väänänen 1959 115.
- 166 Note that the “e” of the name is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 147) capitalize *Ratio* (which would make it seem like a name) and write *pedicaro* (as at *CIL*) for *pidicaro* (as at Add. p. 216).
- 167 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147 capitalize *Ratio* (which would make it seem like a name), though it is not included as a name in any of their tables. I take *pidicaro* as a misspelling of *pedicabo* and translate it likewise, although it could also be the syncopated future perfect (on which, see Väänänen 1959 40). It is unclear to me how we should interpret the last line.
- 168 *CIL* records that one or two letters have been lost before the -it at the end of the graffito.
- 169 Not seen. Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* records the letters *BAS* under the graffito.
- 170 Note that the name in *CIL* 4.2278 is very fragmentary; see further at 2278.

- 171 Not seen. *CIL* transcribes the second word as *Plani*, which EDR and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 147) follow. Varone reads it as *Plane*, while acknowledging that it could also be *Plani* (2003 196, 2005 107n.26).
- 172 The index of *CIL* (p. 752) takes *Plani* as the genitive of the name *Planus*, as I have done in my first translation; Krenkel 1981 53 take *Plani* as the genitive of the name *Planius*, translating the graffito as “Fronto, the slave of Planius, licks a cunt.” Varone reads the second word as either *Plane*, explaining it as the dative of the Greek female name *Plane*, or *Plani*, the dative of the Latin name *Planis* from the same Greek name (2003 196, 2005 107n.26); in his catalogue of names, he lists it as *Planis*, of Greek origin (Varone 2005 97). Following Varone’s interpretation results in the second translation above. If the second word is *plane*, then it could also be an adverb, resulting in my third translation above; for *plane* as an adverb in Pompeian graffiti, see also Solin 2008 65 on *CIL* 4.1827 Add. p. 212. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list the word in question under the name *Plani(s)* (2009 123) or *Planus* (2009 132), and once give the name as *Froto Plani* (2009 133). Note that there are no attestations of Πλάνις or anything similar in *LGP*N.
- 173 The second name is taken as *Attis*, a woman, by *CIL*’s index of *cognomina* (p. 748), Väänänen (1959 86), Savunen (1997 111n.155), Varone (2003 197; note that he spells it *Attis* at 2005 96 and elsewhere), and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 61, 65, 122, 130, 133); note that *LGP*N lists eight attestations of the female name Ἀτθίς. Adams 1982 121 takes the second name as the male name *Attis*; note that the name Ἀττίς is attested twelve times in *LGP*N and is listed as male. McGinn (2004 297) takes the name as *Attine* and female, and *LGP*N seems to agree, listing this graffito as the only instance of the (female) name Ἀττίνη (3A p. 83). For the declension of Greek names in Pompeian graffiti, see Väänänen 1959 86.
- 174 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 is uncertain; see further at 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 175 The index of *CIL* (p. 753), Franklin, Varone, and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani take *Rusticus* to be a *cognomen* (Franklin 1986 323, Varone 2005 97, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 61, 114n.505, 123, 132, 147) rather than the adjective “rustic.” Franklin and Varone take *condiscos* to be *condiscē[n]s* (= *condiscipulus*), “schoolmate” (Franklin 1986 323n.15, Varone 2002 [1994] 132n.214), and thus the last line would be “the schoolmate who mourns for Africanus.”
- 176 While *CIL* records *fellat* after the name, Varone sees only the *futues* of *CIL* 4.2260 Add. p. 216 (Varone 2012 328) and I follow his reading. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147 and EDR follow *CIL*. The numerals were spotted by Varone (Varone 2012 328).
- 177 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that *Fortuna* may be an abbreviation for *Fortunata* (2009 122n.606); if this is the case, one would add *CIL* 4.2266.
- 178 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 179 I take *futues* as a misspelling of the present-tense *futuis* rather than the future tense, and translate accordingly.
- 180 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 is uncertain; see further at 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 181 The index to *CIL* (p. 750) and Varone 2012 326 takes Ἑρμῆς as an error for the cognomen Ἑρμῆς/*Hermes*.
- 182 There are one or two indecipherable letters in line 1 before *-enibus* (see *CIL* plate XXXVII 12). Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). Varone takes the first word, which seems to be in a different hand (according to *CIL*; see the drawing mentioned above), as a separate graffito (Varone 2012 327), as does EDR, which has separate entries for the first word and for the rest of the graffito. The wall has been damaged and the first word is now lost.
- 183 The index of *CIL* (p. 746) and Varone (2005 97) list *Rusatia* as a female *nomen/gentilicium*. Varone lists the corrected version of the second name as *Corvinus* (2003 197), though later switches back to *Corvenius*, which he identifies as a male *nomen/gentilicium* (Varone 2005 97; see also the index of *CIL*, which reads the same but with hesitation [p. 744]); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani have *Corvenius* in their lists of names (e.g., Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 122, 131, 147).
- 184 *CIL* notes several sets of letters near this graffito, including *PAC* or *PAP*, *HAS* and *ES*, and *P*[or *F*]*ILU* [or *ILI*].

- 185 Not seen.
- 186 Not seen. *CIL* records further indecipherable letters after *Ver*, and suggests that the last line seems to have been written in another hand (see drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVII 41). Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). Fiorelli (1862 56) reads this as *vere* | *felas* (“you truly suck”), omitting *Fortuna sic*.
- 187 The index of *CIL* identifies *Ver* in this graffito as an incomplete *cognomen* (p. 754), as does Varone (2005 97); the latter suggests the name might be female because of the connection to fellatio seen here (Varone 2005 98). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize the word in their transcription of the graffito (2009 147; they do so for *Ver* in the transcription of *CIL* 4.2269 and *CIL* 4.2282, however), though they list it as an (incomplete) name at 2009 123, 132, 133. Fortuna is (accidentally) left out of the list of names at Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 131.
- 188 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that *Fortuna* may be an abbreviation for *Fortunata* (2009 122n.606); if that is the case, one would add *CIL* 4.2224, 2259, and 2275 here.
- 189 Not seen. *CIL* notes that there are traces of two or three more letters at the end of the second line (see drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVII 41; note that the letters appear much smaller than the rest of the inscription, and may therefore be extraneous to the graffito). Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter). EDR restores the last word as *Sarne(n)sis*.
- 190 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147 capitalize the second word in their transcription, implying that it is a name, and have an entry for *Amusuc* . . . *sarnesis* in their list of names (2009 122, 130). The index of *CIL* lists *Sarnensis* as a *cognomen* (p. 753), though other scholars have not followed.
- 191 Note that the reading of *CIL* 4.2196 is not certain; see further at 2196.
- 192 Not seen (unless an “m” seen on the wall belongs to this graffito). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani accidentally capitalize the first letter of the third line (2009 147).
- 193 Varone lists this as the singular name *Cassacos* (Varone 2005 97); the index of *CIL* (p. 748) and Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list it as *Cassacos* (*acc.*) (2009 122 [with a question mark at the end], 130).
- 194 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not list *CIL* 4.2271 under their entry for *Cassacos* (*acc.*) (2009 122, 130), though they acknowledge it might refer to the same name (2009 122n.603).
- 195 Not seen. Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 196 The index of *CIL* (p. 754) takes *Ver* as an abbreviated *cognomen* and lists *Anedia* also as a *cognomen* (p. 747); Varone takes *Ver* as an unfinished name of unknown gender (though more probably female; see n. 187) and *Anedia* (or *Anaedia* in his corrected version [2003 197]) as a female *gentilicium* (Varone 2005 97). While Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize *Ver* in their transcription of *CIL* 4.2266, they do so in the transcription of this graffito (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147), and list it as an (incomplete) name at 2009 123, 132, 133.
- 197 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2266 is uncertain; see further at 2266.
- 198 Not seen. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani’s transcription (2009 147) does not indicate that the sigma is lunate.
- 199 Not seen. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani’s transcription (2009 147) does not capitalize the second word and does not include the last “i”; EDR has *C{c}assa* for the second word. *CIL* notes that *RASUS* seems to have been written in another hand over the second line (see also *CIL* plate XXXVII 41).
- 200 The index of *CIL* lists this graffito under its entry for *Cassacos* (*acc.*) (p. 748); Varone lists this graffito under his entry for *Cassacos* (2003 199, 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147 do not list this graffito under the name *Cassacos* in their tables (e.g., 2009 122), though there is an acknowledgment (2009 122n.603) that it may be trying to replicate *Cassacos*.
- 201 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not list *CIL* 4.2271 under their entry for *Cassacos* (*acc.*) (2009 122, 130), though they acknowledge it might refer to the same name (2009 122n.603).
- 202 Not seen.
- 203 Not seen. Note that the second “e” of *bene* is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 204 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that the name *Murtis* may be equal to *Myrtale* (2009 133n.685).

- 205 Note that *CIL* 4.2293 is fragmentary; see further at 2293.
- 206 *CIL* notes that the beginning of the first word has been erased, and offers a reading of *fututor* or, following Fiorelli (1862 56), *Victor*; Varone (2003 207, 2005 97) and I follow the latter reading. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 123, 132, 133, 147), following *CIL*'s ambiguous transcription, have *lnor*. I discerned two "l"s in *valleas*. Note that the "e"s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). *CIL* notes the additional letters *FAUNU* or *FACIM* underneath the graffito.
- 207 Restoration of the first word based on similarity to *CIL* 4.2260 Add. p. 216 (see also Varone 2003 207, 2005 97). I take *futues* as a misspelling of the present-tense *futuis* rather than the future tense, and translate accordingly.
- 208 Not seen; Zangemeister (at *CIL*) did not see it, either. Note that the "e" is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 209 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that *Fortuna* may be an abbreviation for *Fortunata* (2009 122n.606); if this is the case, one would add *CIL* 4.2266.
- 210 Not seen.
- 211 Fiorelli 1862 56 takes this as the name *Facilis* written in Greek letters (i.e., Φάκι[λις]), with the first letter missing its stem, and the index of *cognomina* in *CIL* (p. 749) and Varone list this graffito under the name *Facilis* (Varone 2005 97), though Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not (see their 2009 tables).
- 212 Not seen. The reading of the second half of the graffito is not clear (see *CIL* plate XXXVII 38). Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 148) have *irumo set V...K...as*.
- 213 EDR suggests *set* = *sed*, in which case the graffito would read, "I face-fuck but ..."
- 214 *CIL* records that three or four letters have been erased before the letters *nice* (see also the drawing at *CIL* plate XXXVII 32), although *CIL* equivocates as to whether those letters belong to this inscription.
- 215 Varone reads this as possibly *Beronice* (Varone 2003 198n.28) or *- -lnice* (Varone 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 148 similarly list *lnice*, with a note that it may be the *Beronice* of *CIL* 4.2198 Add. p. 215 (2009 123n.616, 132n.662, 133n.688).
- 216 Not seen. *CIL* reads *SUAT AII* (with difficulty), which Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 122, 148) repeat; Guzzo and Scarano Ussani also offer *sum t(ua) a(ssibus) II* (2009 60). Varone 2003 207 has *sunt a II*, which is an alternative proposed in *CIL*. *CIL* Add. p. 216 reads the first letter as "f," which EDR and I follow.
- 217 If we follow Varone's reading of *sunt AII*, the graffito would read "they are 2 a(sses)." Guzzo and Scarano Ussani's interpretation as *sum t(ua) a(ssibus) II* would translate as "I am yours for two a(sses)" (2009 60).
- 218 Varone does not include this graffito in his catalogue of names (Varone 2005 97), nor do Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (see their 2009 tables). If a name, it could also be *Cres[ces]* or *Cres[cens]*.
- 219 The index of *CIL* (p. 754) takes *Ver* as an abbreviated *cognomen*, and Varone takes this as an unfinished name of unknown gender (Varone 2005 97), though later suggests a woman through the connection to *fellatio* seen in *CIL* 4.2266 (Varone 2005 98). While Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize *ver* in their transcription of *CIL* 4.2266, they do so in their transcription of this graffito (Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2009 147), and list it as an (incomplete) name at 2009 123, 132, 133.
- 220 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2266 is uncertain; see further at 2266.
- 221 Fiorelli (1862 54), *CIL*, Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 148), and EDR read this as *CVI* or *cui*; Varone suggests *XVI*, which I follow, or *LVI* (Varone 2012 323).
- 222 If the graffito reads *CVI*, it could be translated as 106; if it reads *cui*, it could mean "to whom"; if the graffito reads *LVI*, it would read 56.
- 223 Not seen. Varone (2012 323) expresses doubt concerning the transcription.
- 224 Note that the "e" is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 225 Not seen. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani do not capitalize the final *I* (2009 148).
- 226 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2250 is debated; see further at 2250.
- 227 Not seen. Note that the "e" is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).

- 228 The location of this graffito is given by Fior-elli (1862 57) as “superiormente al capezzale del letto,” though to my knowledge it has not been located since then (*CIL*, for example, could not find it).
- 229 Note that the “e”s are formed by two vertical lines each (a common variation for writing that letter). The form of the “f” in *fuit* is unusual and the last line of the graffito is damaged, making its reading and transcription difficult (see the drawing at *CIL* plate XVII 1).
- 230 *Cor* is listed as a possible abbreviated *cognomen* by the index of *CIL* (p. 748), and by Varone as an incomplete name of indeterminate gender (Varone 2005 97); the word is not capitalized by Guzzo and Scarano Ussani in their transcription (2009 148), nor by EDR, but it is listed as the name *Cor* at Guzzo and 2009 122. Guzzo and Scarano Ussani offer that the latter part of the graffito may indicate a price (2009 60, 122), which I follow tentatively.
- 231 Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 232 Not seen. Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 233 Guzzo and Scarano Ussani suggest that *Murtis* may be equivalent to *Myrtale* (2009 133n.685).
- 234 Note that *CIL* 4.2293 is fragmentary; see further at 2293.
- 235 Not seen. *CIL* notes that the letters *VI* seem to be written after the graffito.
- 236 Listed under *Murtis* by the index of *CIL* (p. 751) and by Varone (2003 200, 2005 97). Listed under *Mur* by Guzzo and Scarano (2009 123, 131), though with an acknowledgment that it may be *Murtis* (2009 123n.615) or even *Murtale* or *Myrtale* (2009 131n.611); they in fact list it with *Murtis* at 2009 133.
- 237 Not seen.
- 238 Note that the reading of the name in *CIL* 4.2274 Add. p. 216 is uncertain; see further at 2274 Add. p. 216.
- 239 Not seen.
- 240 The index of *CIL* (p. 753) takes this as a *cognomen*, and Varone lists this as a male name (Varone 2003 198, 2005 97).
- 241 Not seen.
- 242 *Marcus Anicetus* is listed separately from the other *Markus/Marcus* entries in Varone (2005 97); *Marcus Ani(c?)et[us]* is listed separately from both *Marca* (of *CIL* 4.2235) and *Marcus* (of *CIL* 4.2201) in Guzzo and Scarano Ussani (2009 123, 131).
- 243 Should follow after *CIL* 4.2247 according to *CIL*.
- 244 Not seen. Note that the “e” is formed by two vertical lines (a common variation for writing that letter).
- 245 Listed as an abbreviated *cognomen* by the index of *CIL* (p. 752), and listed by Varone as a name of unknown gender (Varone 2005 97); Guzzo and Scarano Ussani list it as *Primige[us]* sometimes (2009 122, 123) and *Primigenia* other times (2009 132, 133).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, J. N. 1981. "A Type of Sexual Euphemism in Latin." *Phoenix* 35: 120–128.
1982. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
1983. "Words for 'Prostitute' in Latin." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 126: 321–358.
- Alexander, Priscilla. 1987. "Why This Book." In *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry*, ed. Frederique Delacoste and Priscilla Alexander. Pittsburgh, PA: Cleis Press. Pp. 14–18.
- Allison, Penelope. 1995. "House Contents in Pompeii: Data Collection and Interpretative Procedure for a Reappraisal of Roman Domestic Life and Site Formation Processes." *Journal of European Archaeology* 3: 145–176.
1999. "Labels for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households." In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. Penelope Allison. London: Routledge. Pp. 57–77.
2004. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture*. Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
2006. *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*. Vol. 3: *The Finds, a Contextual Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2007. "Engendering Roman Domestic Space." In *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*, ed. Ruth Westgate, Nick Fisher, and James Whitley. London: British School at Athens Studies. Pp. 343–350.
- Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. B. Brewster. New York: Monthly Review Press. Pp. 127–186.
- Andreae, Bernard. 1969. "Stuckreliefs und Fresken der Farnesina." In *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, ed. Hermine Speier. Tübingen: Wasmuth. Pp. 430–453.
- Åshede, Linnea. 2016. "A Demanding Supply: Prostitutes in the Roman World." In *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*, ed. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean MacIntosh Turfa. London: Routledge. Pp. 932–941.
- Augustín, Laura. 2010. "The (Crying) Need for Different Kinds of Research." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 23–27.
- Ault, Bradley. 2016. "Building Z in the Athenian Kerameikos: House, Tavern, Inn, Brothel?" In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 75–102.
- Bailey, D. M. 1980. *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. Vol. 2: *Roman Lamps Made in Italy*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Bain, D. 1991. "Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress: (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)." *The Classical Quarterly* 41: 51–77.
2014. "Praefanda: The Lexicography of Ancient Greek *aischrologia*," ed. Amy Coker. *Eikasmos* 25: 391–416.
- Baird, Jennifer. 2015. "On Reading the Material Culture of Ancient Sexual Labor." *Helios* 42: 163–175.

- Baldwin, Eamonn, Helen Moulden, and Ray Laurence. 2013. "Slaves and Children in a Roman Villa: Writing and Space in the Villa San Marco at Stabiae." In *Written Space in the Latin West: 200 BC to AD 300*, ed. Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, and Ray Laurence. London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 153–166.
- Balzani, Marcello. 2005. "Il Lupanare a Pompei. Il rilievo 3D per l'interpretazione e la documentazione dei graffiti." In *Metodologie innovative integrate per il rilevamento dell'architettura e dell'ambiente*, ed. Tiziana Fiorucci. Rome: Gangemi. Pp. 68–70.
- Barraco, Maria Elisa Garcia. 2012. *Il foro proibito: Luoghi di ospitalità e di erotismo nel Foro Romano*. Rome: Arbor Sapientiae.
- Barré, Louis. 1995 [1915]. *Museo secreto del arte erótico de Pompeya y Herculano*. Mexico: Frente de Afirmación Hispanista.
- 2001 [1877]. *Musée secret. Pompeii; Marius*.
- Barton, Carlin. 2002. "Being in the Eyes: Shame and Sight in Ancient Rome." In *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body*, ed. David Fredrick. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 216–235.
- Basso, Patrizia. 2003. "Gli alloggi servili." In *Subterraneae domus: ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana*, ed. Patrizia Basso and Francesca Ghedini. Verona: Cierre Edizioni. Pp. 443–463.
- Beard, Mary. 2008. *Fires of Vesuvius: Pompeii Lost and Found*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Benefiel, Rebecca. 2004. "Pompeii, Puteoli, and the Status of a Colonia in the Mid-First Century AD." In *Pompei, Capri e la penisola sorrentina*, ed. Felice Senatore. Rome: Bardi Editori. Pp. 349–367.
2010. "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii." *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 59–101.
2011. "Dialogues of Graffiti in the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii (Casa Dei Quattro Stili, I.8.17, 11)." In *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor. New York: Routledge. Pp. 20–48.
2016. "The Culture of Writing Graffiti within Domestic Spaces at Pompeii." In *Inscriptions in the Private Sphere in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Rebecca Benefiel and Peter Keegan. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 80–110.
- Berg, Ria. 2010. "Lo specchio di Venere. Riflessioni sul *mundus muliebris* nella pittura pompeiana." In *Atti del X Congresso Internazionale Association Internationale pour la peinture murale antique*, ed. Irene Bragantini. Naples: Università degli studi di Napoli "l'orientale." Pp. 289–300.
2014. "La casa come cassaforte. Riflessioni sulle zone di attività e zone di deposito nelle case pompeiane." In *Centro y periferia en el Mundo Clásico*, ed. José María Álvarez Martínez, Trinidad Nogales Basarrate, and Isabel Rodá de Llanza. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano. Pp. 1029–1032.
2016. "Dominae apothecarum: Gendering Storage Patterns in Roman Houses." In *The Material Sides of Marriage: Women and Domestic Economies in Antiquity*, ed. Ria Berg. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae. Pp. 175–189.
2017. "Toiletries and Taverns: Cosmetic Sets in Small Houses, *Hospitia*, and *Lupanaria* at Pompeii." *Arctos* 51: 13–39.
- Bergmann, Bettina. 1994. "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii." *The Art Bulletin* 76: 225–256.
1995. "Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97: 79–120.
1996. "The Pregnant Moment: Tragic Wives in the Roman Interior." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece and Italy*, ed. Natalie Kampen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 199–218.
2013. "Realia: Portable and Painted Objects from the Villa of Boscoreale." In *La villa romaine de Boscoreale et ses fresques*. Vol. 2: *Actes du colloque international organisé du 21 au 23 avril 2010 aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles et au Musée royal de Mariemont*, ed. Alix Barbet and Annie Verbanck-Piéard. Arles: Errance. Pp. 3–27.

- Berry, Joanne. 1997. "Household Artefacts: Towards a Re-Interpretation of Roman Domestic Space." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, ed. Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 22. Pp. 183–195.
2007. "Instrumentum Domesticum – A Case Study." In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 292–301.
- Biville, Frédérique. 2003. "Le latin et le grec 'vulgaires' des inscriptions pompéiennes." In *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif VI: actes du VIe colloque internationale sur le latin vulgaire et tardif*, ed. Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-Aho, and Heikki Solin. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann. Pp. 219–236.
- Blennow, Anna Holst. 2008. "The Graffiti in the Cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani in the Area of the Embassy of the United States of America in Rome." In *Unexpected Voices: The Graffiti in the Cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani*, ed. O. Brandt. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom. Pp. 55–85.
- Blondell, Ruby. 2013. *Helen of Troy: Beauty, Myth, Devastation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boni, Giacomo. 1904. "Foro Romano." *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* 5: 493–584.
- Boon, George. 1991. "'Tonsor Humanus': Razor and Toilet-Knife in Antiquity." *Britannia* 22: 21–32.
- Borgongino, Michele. 2006. *Archeobotanica. Reperti vegetali da Pompei e dal territorio vesuviano*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Borriello, M. R., et al. 1986. *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: I mosaici, le pitture, gli oggetti di uso quotidiano, gli argenti, le terrecotte invetriate, i vetri, i cristalli, gli avori*. Rome: De Luca.
- Bowman, Alan K. 2003. *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and Its People*. London: Routledge.
- Bowman, Alan K., and J. David Thomas, eds. 2003. *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets*. Vol. 3. London: British Museum.
- Bradley, Keith. 1987. *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2011. "Resisting Slavery at Rome." In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 362–384.
- Bradley-Engen, Mindy, and Carrie Hobbs. 2010. "To Love, Honor, and Strip: An Investigation of Exotic Dancer Romantic Relationships." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 67–84.
- Bragantini, Irene. 1997. "VII 12, 18–20: Lupa-nare." In *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*. Vol. 7. Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana. Pp. 520–539.
- Bragantini, Irene, and Mariette de Vos, eds. 1982. *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Pitture: Le decorazioni della villa romana della Farnesina*. Vol. 2.1. Rome: De Luca.
- Brass, Perry. 2009. "Something about the Boy." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 54–60.
- Braund, Susanna. 2004. *Juvenal and Persius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brendel, Otto. 1970. "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in the Greco-Roman World." In *Studies in Erotic Art*, ed. Theodore Bowie. New York: Basic Books. Pp. 3–107.
- Brents, Barbara G., and Kathryn Hausbeck. 2010. "Sex Work Now: What the Blurring of Boundaries around the Sex Industry Means for Sex Work, Research, and Activism." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 9–22.
- Brown, Louise. 2000. *Sex Slaves: The Trafficking of Women in Asia*. London: Virago Press.
- Budetta, Tommasina, and Mario Pagano. 1988. *Ercolano: Legni e piccolo bronzi: testimonianze*

- dell'arredo e delle suppellettili della casa romana. Rome: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei.
- Butler, Judith. 1997. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Butrica, J. L. 2002. "Clodius the Pulcher in Catullus and Cicero." *Classical Quarterly* 52: 507–516.
- Camp, Stephanie. 2004. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Cantarella, Eva. 2002 [1988]. *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. Cormac Ó Cuilleain. Second edition. New Haven, CT: Yale Nota Bene Press.
- Cantarella, Eva, with Luciana Jacobelli. 1998. *Pompeii: I volti dell'amore*. Milan: Mondadori.
- Carandini, Andrea. 1988. *Schiavi in Italia: Gli strumenti pensanti dei Romani fra tarda Repubblica e medio Impero*. Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica.
2010. *Le case del potere nell'antica Roma*. Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Carandini, Andrea, and Emanuele Papi, eds. 1999. *Palatium e Sacra Via II: L'età tardo-repubblicana e la prima età imperiale (fine III secolo a.C.–64 d.C.)*. Rome: Bollettino di Archeologia.
- Castiglione Morelli del Franco, Vincenzina. 1993. "Il Giornale dei soprastanti di Pompei e le Notizie degli Scavi." In *Ercolano 1738–1988: 250 Anni di ricerca archeologica*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. Pp. 659–66.
- Ciarallo, Anna Maria. 2011. "L'uso del vetro a Pompei: Analisi del contenuto di alcuni unguentari pompeiani." In *L'instrumentum vitreum di Pompei*, ed. Lucia Scatozza Hör-icht. Rome: Aracne. Pp. 343–372.
- Clarke, John. 1991. *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1993. "The Warren Cup and the Contexts for Representations of Male-to-Male Lovemaking in Augustan and Early Julio-Claudian Art." *The Art Bulletin* 75: 275–294.
1998. *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 B.C.–A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2003a. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2003b. *Roman Sex: 100 BC–AD 250*. New York: Harry Abrams.
2005. "Representations of the Cinaedus in Roman Art." *Journal of Homosexuality* 49: 271–298.
2007. *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2014. "Sexuality and Visual Representation." In *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas Hubbard. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 509–533.
- Coarelli, Filippo. 2005. *Roma*. Fourth edition. Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Cohen, Edward. 2015. *Athenian Prostitution: The Business of Sex*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Connolly, Peter. 1990 [1979]. *Pompeii*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cool, Hilary. 2016. "Recreation or Decoration: What Were the Glass Counters from Pompeii Used For?" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 86: 157–177.
- Cooley, Alison. 2002. "The Survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii." In *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. Alison Cooley. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology. Pp. 77–86.
2012. *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooley, Alison, and M. G. L. Cooley. 2014 [2004]. *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*. Second edition. New York: Routledge.
- Comer, Sean. 2011. "Bringing the Outside In: The *Andrôn* as Brothel and the Symposium's Civic Sexuality." In *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200*

- CE, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Madeleine Henry. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Pp. 60–85.
- Costabile, Felice. 2001. “Ancilla domni: Una nuova dedica su armilla aurea da Pompeii.” *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 6: 447–474.
- D’Ambrosio, Antonio. 2001. *Women and Beauty in Pompeii*, trans. Graham Sells. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- D’Arms, John. 1990. “The Roman *Convivium* and the Idea of Equality.” In *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. Oswyn Murray. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 308–320.
1991. “Slaves at Roman *Convivia*.” In *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William Slater. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 171–83.
- David, Massimiliano. 2002. “Fiorelli and Documentation Methods in Archaeology.” In *Houses and Monuments of Pompeii: The Works of Fausto and Felice Nicolini*, trans. Thomas M. Hartmann. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications. Pp. 52–57.
- D’Avino, Michele. n.d. *Pompeii prohibited*. Naples: Edizioni Procaccini.
- De Caro, Stefano. 1996. *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples*. Naples: Electa Napoli.
- ed. 2000. *Il gabinetto segreto del museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli*. Naples: Electa Napoli.
- ed. 2001. *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples*, trans. Mark Weir and Federico Poole. Naples: Electa Napoli.
- De Caro, Stefano, and Costanza Gialanella. 2002. *Il Rione Terra di Pozzuoli*. Naples: Electa Napoli.
- DeFelice, John. 2007. “Inns and Taverns.” In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 474–486.
- Della Corte, Matteo. 1919. “Novacula.” *Ausonia* 9: 139–160.
- 1965 [1926]. *Case ed abitanti di Pompeii*. Third edition. Naples: Fausto Fiorentino Editore.
- Descœudres, Jean-Paul. 2007. “History and Historical Sources.” In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 9–27.
- De Simone, Antonio, and Maria Teresa Merella. 1975. “The Collection.” In *Eros in Pompeii: The Erotic Art Collection of the Museum of Naples*, ed. Michael Grant and Antonia Mulas. Milan: Arnoldo Mandadori Editore. Pp. 85–166.
- De Vos, Arnold, and Mariette de Vos. 1982. *Pompeii Ercolano Stabia*. Rome: Editori Laterza.
- DiBiasie, Jacqueline. 2015. “The Writings on the Wall: The Spatial and Literary Context of Domestic Graffiti from Pompeii.” PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Diehl, Ernst. 1910. *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*. Bonn: A Marcus und E. Weber Verlag.
- Dierichs, Angelika. 1997. *Erotik in der römischen Kunst*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Dobbins, John, and Pedar Foss, eds. 2007. *The World of Pompeii*. London: Routledge.
- Dunbabin, Katherine. 2003. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edmondson, Jonathan. 2011. “Slavery and the Roman Family.” In *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 337–361.
- Edwards, Catharine. 1993. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1997. “Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome.” In *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp. 66–95.
- Ellis, Steven J. R. 2004a. “The Distribution of Bars at Pompeii: Archaeological, Spatial and Viewshed Analyses.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17: 371–384.
- 2004b. “The Pompeian Bar: Archaeology and the Role of Food and Drink Outlets in an Ancient Community.” *Food & History* 2: 41–58.
2012. “Eating and Drinking Out.” In *A Cultural History of Food in Antiquity*, ed. Paul Erdkamp. London: Berg. Pp. 95–112.

- Ellis, Steven J. R., and Gary Devore. 2010. "The Fifth Season of Excavations at VIII.7.1–15 and the Porta Stabia at Pompeii: Preliminary Report." *The Journal of Fasti Online* 202: 1–21.
- Eschebach, H., and T. Schäfer. 1983. "Die öffentlichen Laufbrunnen Pompejis: Katalog und Beschreibung." *Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae* 1: 11–40.
- Famin, Stanislas Marie César. 1836. *Musée royal de Naples: peintures, bronzes et statues érotiques du cabinet secret*. Paris: Abel Ledoux.
- Faust, Sabine. 1989. *Fulcra. Figürlicher und ornamentaler Schmuck an antiken Betten*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 30. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Fentress, Lisa. forthcoming. "Slave Spaces: Housing Dependent Workers at Villa Magna." In *Inequality in Antiquity: Tracing the Archaeological Record*, ed. Orlando Cerasuolo. Buffalo: State University of New York Press.
- Fisher, Kate, and Rebecca Langlands. 2009. "This Way to the Red Light District": The Internet Generation Visits the Brothel in Pompeii." In *Classics for All: Reworking Antiquity in Mass Culture*, ed. Dunstan Lowe and Kim Shahabudin. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press. Pp. 172–195.
2011. "The Censorship Myth and the Secret Museum." In *Pompeii in the Popular Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, ed. Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 301–315.
- Fiorelli, Giuseppe. 1862. *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei*. Naples: Stamperia della R. Università.
1873. *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872: Relazione al ministro della istruzione pubblica*. Naples: Tipografia Italiana nel Liceo V. Emanuele.
1875. *Descrizione di Pompei*. Naples: Tipografia Italiana.
- Flemming, Rebecca. 1999. "Quae corpore quaestum facit: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire." *Journal of Roman Studies* 89: 38–61.
- Forno, Sam. 2009. "New Job." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 18–25.
- Franchi Dell'Orto, Luisa. 1990. "Furnishings." In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. P. 171.
- Franklin, James L. Jr. 1986. "Games and a Lupanar: Prosopography of a Neighborhood in Ancient Pompeii." *The Classical Journal* 81: 319–328.
1987. "Pantomimists at Pompeii: Actius Anicetus and His Troupe." *American Journal of Philology* 108: 95–107.
1991. "Literacy and the Parietal Inscriptions of Pompeii." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 3. Pp. 77–98.
- Fredrick, David. 1997. "Reading Broken Skin: Violence in Roman Elegy." In *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp. 172–193.
- Frier, Bruce. 1977. "The Rental Market in Early Imperial Rome." *Journal of Roman Studies* 67: 27–37.
- García y García, Laurentino. 2006. *Danni di Guerra a Pompei: Una dolorosa vicenda quasi dimenticata*. Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 15. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- García y García, Laurentino, and Luciana Jacobelli, eds. 2001. *Louis Barré, Museo Segreto. Pompeii: Marius*.
- Garraffoni, Renata Senna, and Ray Laurence. 2013. "Writing in Public Space from Child to Adult: The Meaning of Graffiti." In *Written Space in the Latin West: 200 BC to AD 300*, ed. Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, and Ray Laurence. London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 123–134.
- Gatti, Giuseppe. 1901a. "Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel Suburbio." *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale in Roma* 29: 129–157.

- 1901b. "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio [August]." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. Rome: R. Accademia dei Lincei. Pp. 352–356.
- 1901c. "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio [November]." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. Rome: R. Accademia dei Lincei. Pp. 480–484.
- George, Michele. 1997. "Servus and Domus: The Slave in the Roman House." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World*, ed. Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. Ann Arbor, MI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 22. Pp. 15–24.
2011. "Slavery and Roman Material Culture (The Evidence of Art and Monuments)." In *Cambridge World History of Slavery*. Vol. 1: *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 385–413.
2013. "Introduction." In *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, ed. Michele George. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 3–18.
- Gilhuly, Kate. 2007. "Bronze for Gold: Subjectivity in Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Courtesans.'" *American Journal of Philology* 128: 59–94.
- Giove, Teresa. 2003. "Il Vicolo di Tesmo (IX, 4)." In *Storie da un'Eruzione: Pompei Ercolano Oplontis*, ed. Antonio d'Ambrosio, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, and Marisa Mastrooberto. Naples: Electa Napoli. Pp. 274–277.
- Glazebrook, Allison. 2011. "Porneion: Prostitution in Athenian Civic Space." In *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Madeleine Henry. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Pp. 34–59.
2016. "Is There an Archaeology of Prostitution?" In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 169–196.
- Glazebrook, Allison, and Madeline Henry, eds. 2011a. *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- 2011b. "Introduction." In *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Madeleine Henry. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Pp. 3–13.
- Glazebrook, Allison, and Barbara Tsakirgis, eds. 2016a. *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 2016b. "Introduction." In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 1–12.
- Goold, G. P. 1999 [1990]. *Propertius: Elegies*. Revised edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grahame, Mark. 1997. "Public and Private in the Roman House: The Spatial Order of the Casa del Fauno." In *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, ed. Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. Ann Arbor, MI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 22. Pp. 137–164.
- Grant, Michael. 1975. *Eros in Pompeii: The Secret Rooms of the National Museum of Naples*. New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang.
- Green, F. Mira. 2015. "Witnesses and Participants in the Shadows: The Sexual Lives of Enslaved Women and Boys." *Helios* 42: 143–162.
- Griffith, Mark. 2006. "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids and the Ancient Greek Imagination. Part Two." *Classical Philology* 101: 307–358.
- Gusman, Pierre. 1906. *Pompeii: la ville – les mœurs – les arts*. Paris: Émile Caillard.
- Guzzo, Pier Giovanni, and Antonio d'Ambrosio. 2002 [1998]. *Pompeii: Guide to the Site*, trans. Mark Weir. First updated edition. Naples: Electa Napoli.
- Guzzo, Pier Giovanni, and Vincenzo Scarano Ussani. 2000. *Veneris figurae: immagini di prostituzione e sfruttamento a Pompei*. Naples: Electa Napoli.

2001. "La schiava di Moregine." *Les mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Antiquité* 113: 981–997.
2009. *Ex corpore lucrum facere: La prostituzione nell'antica Pompei*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Hallett, Judith. 2002. "The Vindolanda Letters from Claudia Severa." In *Women Writing Latin from Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 1: *Women Writing Latin in Roman Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Early Christian Era*, ed. L. J. Churchill, P. R. Brown, and J. E. Jeffrey. New York: Routledge. Pp. 93–99.
2011. "Ballio's Brothel, Phoenicium's Letter, and the Literary Education of Greco-Roman Prostitutes: The Evidence of Plautus's *Pseudolus*." In *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean: 800 BCE–200 CE*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Madeleine Henry. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Pp. 172–96.
- Halperin, David. 1990. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*. New York: Routledge.
- Hannah, Robert. 2013. "Time in Written Spaces." In *Written Space in the Latin West: 200 BC to AD 300*, ed. Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, and Ray Laurence. London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 83–102.
- Hansen, Zoe. 2009. "L.E.S." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 62–68.
- Hanson, Ann Ellis. 1991. "Ancient Illiteracy." In *Literacy in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 3. Pp. 159–198.
- Harper, Kyle. 2011. *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275–425*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, William. 1989. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
1996. "Writing and Literacy in the Archaic Greek City." In *ENEPFEIA: Studies on Ancient History and Epigraphy Presented to H. W. Pleket*, ed. Johan H. M. Strubbe, Rolf A. Tybout, and Henk S. Versnel. Amsterdam: Brill. Pp. 57–77.
2014. "Literacy and Epigraphy II." In *Les affaires de Monsieur Andreau: Économie et société du monde romain*, ed. Catherine Apicella, Marie-Laurence Haack, and François Lerouxel. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions. Pp. 289–299.
- Helbig, Wolfgang. 1868. *Die Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.
- Hemelrijk, Emily A. 1999. *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. London: Routledge.
- Henderson, Jeffrey. 1991 [1975]. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herzog, Dagmar. 2009. "Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Culture." *The American Historical Review* 114: 1287–1308.
- Hoang, K. K. 2010. "Economies of Emotional, Familiarity, Fantasy, and Desire: Emotional Labor in Ho Chi Minh City's Sex Industry." *Sexualities* 13: 255–72.
- Hobson, Barry. 2009. *Latrinae et Foricae: Toilets in the Roman World*. London: Duckworth.
- Hori, Yoshiki. 1992. "Thresholds in Pompeii." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 2: 73–91.
1993. "The Upper Floors in Regio VII Insula 12: The Importance of the Upper Floor in the Study of Town Homes in Pompeii." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 3: 1–24.
- Hubbard, Thomas. 2003. *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- HülSEN, Christian. 1905. *Il Foro Romano*. Rome: Ermanno Loescher & Co.
- Huntley, Kathryn. 2011. "Identifying Children's Graffiti in Roman Campania: A Developmental Psychological Approach." In *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor. New York: Routledge. Pp. 69–89.
- Jacobelli, Luciana. 1995. *Le pitture erotiche delle Terme Suburbane di Pompei*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
2001. "Pompei città di Venere." In *Louis Barré, Museo Segreto*, ed. Laurentino García

- y García and Luciana Jacobelli. Pompeii: Marius. Pp. 27–53.
- Jansen, Gemma. 1997. “Private Toilets at Pompeii: Appearance and Operation.” In *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, ed. Sara E. Bon and Rick Jones. Oxford: Oxbow. Pp. 121–134.
- Jashemski, Wilhelmina. 1964. “A Pompeian Copa.” *Classical Journal* 59: 337–349.
1979. *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Bros.
- Johns, Catherine. 1982. *Sex or Symbol? Erotic Images of Greece and Rome*. London: British Museum Press.
- Johnson, Marguerite, and Terry Ryan. 2005. *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society and Literature: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.
- Joshel, Sandra. 1992. *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
2010. *Slavery in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2013. “Geographies of Slave Containment and Movement.” In *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, ed. Michelle George. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 99–128.
- Joshel, Sandra, and Lauren Hackworth Petersen. 2014. *The Material Life of Roman Slaves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jung, Franz. 1984. “Gebaute Bilder.” *Antike Kunst* 27: 71–122.
- Kamen, Deborah. 2010. “A Corpus of Inscriptions: Representing Slave Marks in Antiquity.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55: 95–110.
2011. “Slave Agency and Resistance in Martial.” In *Reading Ancient Slavery*, ed. Richard Alston, Edith Hall, and Laura Proffitt. London: Bristol Classical Press. Pp. 192–203.
- 2014a. “Sale of the Purpose of Freedom: Slave-Prostitutes and Manumission in Ancient Greece.” *Classical Journal* 109: 281–307.
- 2014b. “Slave-Prostitutes and ἐργασία in the Delphic Manumission Inscriptions.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188: 149–153.
- Kamen, Deborah, and Sarah Levin-Richardson. 2015a. “Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary.” In *Ancient Sex: New Essays*, ed. Ruby Blondell and Kirk Ormand. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. Pp. 231–252.
- 2015b. “Revisiting Roman Sexuality: Agency and the Conceptualization of Penetrated Males.” In *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*, ed. Mark Masterson, Nancy Rabinowitz, and James Robson. London: Routledge. Pp. 449–460.
- Kampen, Natalie. 1981. *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.
- Kaster, Robert. 2005. *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaye, Kerwin. 2010. “Sex and the Unspoken in Male Street Prostitution.” In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 85–116.
- Keegan, Peter. 2003. “Plato, Feminist Philosophy, and the Representation of Culture: Butler, Irigaray, and the Embodied Subjectivity of Ancient Women.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies* 7: 90–105.
2011. “Blogging Rome: Graffiti as Speech-Act and Cultural Discourse.” In *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor. New York: Routledge. Pp. 165–190.
2013. “Reading the ‘Pages’ of the *Domus Caecaris*: *Pueri Delicati*, Slave Education, and the Graffiti of the Palatine *Paedagogium*.” In *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, ed. Michele George. Toronto: University of Toronto. Pp. 69–98.
2014. *Graffiti in Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Kellum, Barbara. 2015. “Weighing In: The Priapus Painting at the House of the Vettii, Pompeii.” In *Ancient Obscenities: Their Nature and Use in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Dorota Dutsch and Ann Suter. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 199–224.

- Kelly, Patty. 2010. "Pimping the Pueblo: State Regulated Commercial Sex in Neoliberal Mexico." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 173–183.
- Klein, Ernest. 1971. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company.
- Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga. 2011. "Design and Architecture." In *Roman Toilets: Their Archaeology and Cultural History*, ed. Gemma Jansen, Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, and Eric Moormann. Louvain: Peeters. Pp. 51–55.
- Krenkel, Werner. 1978. "Männliche Prostitution in der Antike." *Das Altertum* 24: 49–55.
1979. "Pueri meritorii." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock* 28: 179–189.
1981. "Tonguing." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock* 30.5: 37–54.
1985. "Figurae Veneris (I)." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock* 34: 50–57.
1987. "Figurae Veneris II." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock* 36: 49–56.
- Kruschwitz, Peter. 2010. "Attitudes towards Wall Inscriptions in the Roman Empire." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 174: 207–218.
- Laidlaw, Anne. 2007. "Mining the Early Published Sources: Problems and Pitfalls." In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 620–636.
- Langlands, Rebecca. 1996. *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langner, Martin. 2001. *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung*. Palilia 11. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- La Rocca, Eugenio, Arnold de Vos, and Mariette de Vos. 1976. *Guida archeologica di Pompei*. Milan: Mondadori.
- Laurence, Ray. 2007 [1994]. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- Leach, Eleanor. 2004. *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leibundgut, Annalis. 1977. *Die römischen Lampen in der Schweiz: eine kultur- und Handelsgeschichtliche Studie*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Lenski, Noel. 2013. "Working Models: Functional Art and Roman Conceptions of Slavery." In *Roman Slavery and Roman Material Culture*, ed. Michele George. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 129–157.
- Levin-Richardson, Sarah. 2009. "Roman Provocations: Decorated Spaces in Early Imperial Rome and Pompeii." PhD dissertation, Stanford University.
- 2011a. "Facilis hic futuit: Graffiti and Masculinity in Pompeii's 'Purpose-Built' Brothel." *Helios* 38: 59–78.
- 2011b. "Modern Tourists, Ancient Sexualities: Looking at Looking in Pompeii's Brothel and the Secret Cabinet." In *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, ed. Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 316–330.
2013. "fututa sum hic: Female Subjectivity and Agency in Pompeian Sexual Graffiti." *Classical Journal* 108: 319–345.
- 2015a. "Bodily Waste and Boundaries in Pompeian Graffiti." In *Ancient Obscenities*, ed. Dorota Dutsch and Ann Suter. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 225–254.
- 2015b. "Calos Graffiti and infames at Pompeii." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 195: 274–282.
- Ling, Roger. 1991. *Roman Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Liveley, Genevieve. 1999. "Reading Resistance in Ovid's Metamorphoses." In *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on the Metamorphoses and Its Reception*, ed. Philip Hardie, Alessandro Barchiesi, and Stephen Hinds. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society. Pp. 197–213.
- Lugli, Giuseppe. 2012 [1947]. "Caupona sive Lupanar." In *Il foro proibito: Luoghi di*

- ospitalità e di erotismo nel Foro Romano, ed. Maria Elisa Garcia Barraco. Rome: Arbor Sapientiae. Pp. 93–134.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M. 2002. “The Life of Love.” In *Latin Erotic Elegy*, ed. Paul Allen Miller. London: Routledge. Pp. 348–365.
- MacLeod, M. D. 1961. *Lucian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Marcadé, Jean. 1961. *Roma Amor: Essays on Erotic Elements in Etruscan and Roman Art*. New York: Nagel Publishers.
- Marini, Giuseppe Luigi. 1971. *Il Gabinetto Segreto del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Turin: Ruggero Aprile Editore.
- Marshall, C. W. 2013. “Sex Slaves in New Comedy.” In *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama*, ed. Ben Akrigg and Rob Tordoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 173–196.
2015. “Domestic Sexual Labor in Plautus.” *Helios* 42: 123–141.
- McClure, Laura. 2003a. *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus*. London: Routledge.
- 2003b. “Subversive Laughter: The Sayings of Courtesans in Book 13 of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*.” *American Journal of Philology* 124: 259–294.
- McDonald, Katherine. 2015. *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily: Evaluating Language Contact in a Fragmentary Corpus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGinn, Thomas. 1998. *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2002. “Pompeian Brothels and Social History.” In *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii’s Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, the Herculaneum “Basilica.”* Ann Arbor, MI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplemental Series* 47. Pp. 7–46.
2004. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
2013. “Sorting out Prostitution in Pompeii: The Material Remains, Terminology and the Legal Sources.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 26: 610–633.
- Mednikarova, Iveta. 2001. “The Use of Θ in Latin Funerary Inscriptions.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 136: 267–276.
- Millhouse, John. 1894. *Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Milnor, Kristina. 2009. “Literary Literacy in Roman Pompeii: The Case of Vergil’s Aeneid.” In *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. William Johnson and Holt Parker. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 288–319.
2014. *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Moeller, Walter. 1970. “The Riot of A.D. 59 at Pompeii.” *Historia* 19: 84–95.
- Mols, Stephan. 1999. *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Moormann, Eric. 1988. *La pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica*. Wolfeboro, NH: Van Gorcum.
- Morel, Jean-Paul. 1979. “La ceramica e il vetro.” In *Pompei 79*, ed. Fausto Zevi. Naples: Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore. Pp. 241–264.
- Mouritsen, Henrik. 2011. *The Freedman in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mulvey, Laura. 1975. “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.” *Screen* 16: 6–18. Reprinted in Amelia Jones, ed., *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*. Second edition (London: Routledge, 2010 [2003]). Pp. 57–65.
- Murgatroyd, P. 1977. “Tibullus and the *Puer Delicatus*.” *Acta Classica* 20: 105–119.
- Myerowitz, Molly. 1992. “The Domestication of Desire: Ovid’s *Parva Tabella* and the Theater of Love.” In *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 131–157.
- Newsome, David. 2013. “Movement, Rhythms, and the (Re)production of Written Space.” In *Written Space in the Latin West: 200 BC to AD 300*, ed. Gareth Sears, Peter Keegan, and Ray Laurence. London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 65–81.
- Niccolini, Fausto. 1862. *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei disegnati e descritti*. Vol. 2. Naples.

- Nikolaev, Alexander. 2014. "Latin *Draucus*." *Classical Quarterly* 64: 316–320.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. 1961. *M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nishida, Yastami. 1993. "The Investigations of Regio VII Insula 12: Second Season." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 3: 71–79.
- Nishida, Yastami, and Yoshiki Hori. 1992. "The Investigations of Regio VII Insula 12." *Opuscula Pompeiana* 2: 48–56.
- Olson, Kelly. 2003. "Roman Underwear Revisited." *The Classical World* 96: 201–210.
- Olson, S. Douglas. 2010. *Athenaeus: The Learned Banqueters: Books 12–13.594b*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
2011. *Athenaeus: The Learned Banqueters: Books 13.594b–14*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O'Neill, Maggie, and Jane Pitcher. 2010. "Sex Work, Communities, and Public Policy in the UK." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Dittmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 203–218.
- Ormand, Kirk. 2009. *Controlling Desires: Sexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Osanna, Massimo. 2015. "'Everything Has Been Reformed, Nay, Moralized, as It Were, in the Dead City': Giuseppe Fiorelli in Pompeii." In *Pompeii and Europe 1748–1943*, ed. Massimo Osanna, M. T. Caracciolo, and L. Gallo. Milan: Mondadori Electa. Pp. 228–237.
- Packer, James. 1968–1969. "La casa di Via Giulio Romano." *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica comunale di Roma* 81: 127–148.
1975. "Middle and Lower Class Housing in Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Preliminary Survey." In *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79 n.Chr. verschütteten Städten*, ed. Bernard Andreae and Helmut Kyrieleis. Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers. Pp. 133–146.
1978. "Inns at Pompeii: A Short Survey." *Cronache pompeiane* 4: 5–53.
- Pagano, Mario. 1990. "29. Holder for Medical Instruments (*theca vulneraria*).” In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell’Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L’Erma” di Bretschneider. P. 157.
- Panciera, M. 2001. "Sexual Practice and Invasive in Martial and Pompeian Inscriptions." PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Parker, Holt. 1992. "Love’s Body Anatomized: The Ancient Erotic Handbooks and the Rhetoric of Sexuality.” In *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 90–111.
1997. "The Teratogenic Grid.” In *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp. 47–65.
- Parlow, Christopher. 2007. "Entertainment at Pompeii.” In *World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 212–223.
- Pesando, Fabrizio, and Maria Paola Guidobaldi. 2006. *Pompeii, Oplontis, Ercolano, Stabiae*. Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Petro, Melissa. 2010. "Selling Sex: Women’s Participation in the Sex Industry.” In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Dittmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 155–169.
- Pirson, Felix. 1997. "Rented Accommodation at Pompeii: The Evidence of the Insula Arriana Polliana VI 6.” In *Domestic Space in the Roman World*, ed. Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 22. Pp. 165–181.
2007. "Shops and Industries.” In *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John Dobbins and Pedar Foss. London: Routledge. Pp. 457–473.
- Plant, I. M. 2004. *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Pollini, John. 1999. "The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver.” *Art Bulletin* 81: 21–52.
- Pucci, Giuseppe. 1977. "Le terre sigillate Italiane, Galliche e Orientali.” In *L’Instrumentum Domesticum di Ercolano e Pompeii*, ed.

- Maria Annetchino. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. Pp. 9–21.
- Rich, Anthony. 1881. *A Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Richardson, Lawrence Jr. 1955. *Pompeii: The Casa dei Dioscuri and Its Painters*. Rome: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
1977. *Propertius: Elegies I–IV*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Richlin, Amy. 1992 [1983]. *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. Revised edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
1993. "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against Love between Men." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3: 523–573.
2005. *Rome and the Mysterious Orient*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2015. "Reading Boy-Love and Child-Love in the Greco-Roman World." In *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*, ed. Mark Masterson, Nancy Rabinowitz, and James Robson. London: Routledge. Pp. 352–373.
- Ricotti, Eugenia Salza Prina. 1987. "The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia." In *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Macdougall. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks. Pp. 135–184.
- Rispoli, Paola, Ernesto de Carolis, and Rosario Paone. 2007. "Il terzo restauro del Lupanare di Pompei." *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 18: 143–146.
- Rodger, Alan Ferguson. 2003. "Peculium." In *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition, revised, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 1130.
- Roller, Matthew. 2006. *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome: Bodies, Values, and Status*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Roth, Ulrike. 2010. "Peculium, Freedom, Citizenship: Golden Triangle or Vicious Circle? An Act in Two Parts." In *By the Sweat of Your Brow: Roman Slavery in Its Socio-Economic Setting*, ed. Ulrike Roth. London: Institute of Classical Studies. Pp. 91–120.
- Salmon, Edward Togo. 1967. *Samnium and the Samnites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanders, Teela. 2005. "'It's Just Acting': Sex Workers' Strategies for Capitalizing on Sexuality." *Gender, Work and Organization* 12: 319–342.
- Sanzi di Mino, Maria Rita, ed. 1998. *La Villa della Farnesina: in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*. Milan: Electa.
- Savunen, Liisa. 1997. "Women in the Urban Texture of Pompeii." PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki.
- Scahill, David. 2016. "Dining and the Cult of Aphrodite: The Function of the South Stoa at Corinth." In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 129–142.
- Scatozza Hörich, Lucia. 1986. *I vetri romani di Ercolano*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- 1990a. "25. Perfume Flask." In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. P. 157.
- 1990b. "26. Balsam Containers (*balsamaria*)." In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. P. 157.
2011. *L'instrumentum vitreum di Pompei*. Rome: Aracne.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1985. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Seifert, Donna, Elizabeth Barthold O'Brien, and Joseph Balicki. 2000. "Mary Ann Hall's First-Class House: The Archaeology of a Capital Brothel." In *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Robert Schmidt and Barbara Voss. New York: Routledge. Pp. 117–128.
- Severy-Hoven, Beth. 2012. "Master Narratives and the Wall Painting of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii." *Gender and History* 24: 540–580.
- Shackleton Bailey, D. R. 1993. *Martial: Epigrams*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shapiro, H. Alan. 2004. "Leagros the Satyr." In *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts, and Controversies*, ed. C. Marconi. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 1–11.

- Shumka, Leslie. 2008. "Designing Women: The Representation of Women's Toiletries on Funerary Monuments in Roman Italy." In *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Allison Keith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Pp. 172–191.
- Skinner, Marilyn. 1982. "Pretty Lesbians." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 112: 197–208.
- Smothers, E. R. 1947. "ΚΑΛΟΣ in Acclamation." *Traditio* 5: 1–57.
- Sodo, Anna Maria. 1990. "86. Pastry Mold." In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. P. 189.
- Sogliano, Antonio. 1906. *Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della Istruzione Pubblica*. Naples: Tipografia della R. Università.
1907. *Dei lavori eseguiti in Pompei dal 1 Aprile 1906 a tutto Marzo 1907: Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della Istruzione Pubblica*. Naples: D'Auria.
1908. *Dei lavori eseguiti in Pompei dal 1 Aprile 1907 a tutto giugno 1908: Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della Istruzione Pubblica*. Naples: M. D'Auria.
1909. *Dei lavori eseguiti in Pompei dal 1 Luglio 1908 a tutto giugno 1909: Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della Istruzione Pubblica*. Naples: D'Auria.
- Solin, Heikki. 2008. "Vulgar Latin and Pompeii." In *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VIII: actes du VIIIe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Oxford, 6–9 septembre 2006*. New York: Olms-Weidmann. Pp. 60–68.
2010. "Analecta Epigraphica." *Arctos: Acta Philologica Fennica* 44: 231–261.
2012. "On the Use of Greek in Campania." In *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin*, ed. Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-Aho, and Marja Vierros. Helsinki: Suomen Ateenan-instituutin säätiö. Pp. 97–114.
- Soprano, Pietro. 1950. "I triclini all'aperto di Pompei." In *Pompeiana: Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei*. Naples: Gaetano Macchiaroli Editore. Pp. 288–310.
- Sprinkle, Annie. 2009a. "40 Reasons Why Whores Are My Heroes." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 10–11.
- 2009b. "Remember Our Dead and Wounded: Why We Started the International Day to End Violence against Prostitutes." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 12–14.
- Stefani, Grete. 2003. "La Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4)." In *Storie da un'Eruzione: Pompei Ercolano Oplontis*, ed. Antonio d'Ambrosio, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, and Marisa Mastroberoberto. Naples: Electa Napoli. Pp. 355–367.
- Sterry, David. 2009a. "An Interview: Hawk Kincaid and David Henry Sterry." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 45–51.
- 2009b. "Introduction." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 1–6.
- 2009c. "Sam Forno." In *Hos, Hookers, Call Girls, and Rent Boys: Professionals Writing on Life, Love, Money, and Sex*, ed. David Sterry and R. J. Martin. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press. Pp. 15–17.
- Stewart, Peter. 1997. "Fine Art and Coarse Art: The Image of Roman Priapus." *Art History* 20: 575–588.
- Strong, Anise. 2016. *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tassinari, Suzanne. 1993. *Il Vasellame Bronzео di Pompei*. Vol. 1. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Thorbek, Susanna. 2002. "Introduction: Prostitution in a Global Context: Changing Patterns." In *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Global Patterns*, ed. Susanna Thorbek and Bandana Pattanaik. New York: Zed Books. Pp. 1–9.
- Thurmond, David. 1994. "Some Roman Slave Collars in CIL." *Athenaeum* 92: 459–493.

- Tomei, Maria. 1995. "Domus oppure lupanar? I materiali dello scavo Boni dell 'casa repubblicana' a ovest dell'arco di Tito." *Les Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Antiquité* 107: 549–619.
- Tommaseo, Nicolò, et al. 1872. *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*. Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese.
- Trifilò, Francesco. 2011. "Movement, Gaming, and the Use of Space in the Forum." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, ed. Ray Laurence and David Newsome. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 312–331.
- Trimble, Jennifer. 2002. "Myth, Gender, and Social Structure in a Roman House: Two Paintings of Achilles at Pompeii." In *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, ed. Elaine Gazda. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 225–248.
2016. "The Zoninus Collar and the Archaeology of Roman Slavery." *American Journal of Archaeology* 120: 447–472.
- Trümper, Monika. 2016. "Locations of Ill Repute in Late Hellenistic Delos." In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 103–128.
- Tsakirgis, Barbara. 2016. "What Is a House? Conceptualizing the Greek House." In *Houses of Ill Repute: The Archaeology of Brothels, Houses, and Taverns in the Greek World*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Barbara Tsakirgis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 13–35.
- Väänänen, Veikko. 1959. *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Van der Poel, Halsted, and Paola Poli Capri. 1994a. *Scavi di Pompei: Giornale dei Soprastanti*. Vol. 1. Rome.
- 1994b. *Scavi di Pompei: Giornale dei Soprastanti*. Vol. 2. Rome.
- 1994c. *Scavi di Pompei: Giornale dei Soprastanti*. Vol. 3. Rome.
- 1994d. *Scavi di Pompei: Giornale dei Soprastanti*. Vol. 4. Rome.
- Varone, Antonio. 1990. "54. Dice (tesserae)." In *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-Italia*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto and Antonio Varone. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. Pp. 167–169.
1994. *Erotica pompeiana: Iscrizioni d'amore sui muri di Pompei*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
2001. *Eroticism in Pompeii*, trans. Maureen Fant. Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty.
2002. "Il Lupanare." In *Pompei: La vita ritrovata*, ed. Filippo Coarelli. Udine: Magnus. Pp. 194–201.
- 2002 [1994]. *Erotica pompeiana: Love Inscriptions of the Walls of Pompeii*, trans. Ria Berg. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
2003. "Organizzazione e sfruttamento della prostituzione servile: l'esempio del lupanare di Pompei." In *Donna e lavoro nella documentazione epigrafica*, ed. Alfredo Buonopane and Francesca Cenerini. Faenza: Fratelli Lega. Pp. 193–215.
2005. "Nella Pompei a luci rosse: Castrensis e l'organizzazione della prostituzione e dei suoi spazi." *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 16: 93–109.
- Varone, Antonio, ed. 2012. *Titulorum graphio exaratorum qui in C.I.L. vol. IV collecti sunt Imagines*. Vol. 2. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Verstraete, Beert. 2012. "Reassessing Roman Pederasty in Relation to Roman Slavery: The Portrayal of *Pueri Delicati* in the Love-Poetry of Catullus, Tibullus, and Horace." *The Journal of International Social Research* 5: 157–167.
- Villing, Alexandra. 2002. "For Whom Did the Bell Toll in Ancient Greece? Archaic and Classical Greek Bells at Sparta and Beyond." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 97: 223–295.
- Volioti, Katerina. 2011. "The Materiality of Graffiti: Socialising a Lekythos in Pherai." In *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. Jennifer Baird and Claire Taylor. New York: Routledge. Pp. 134–152.
- Vorberg, Gaston. 1966. *Luxu & Voluptate*. Schmiden bei Stuttgart: Freya Verlag GmbH.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1994. *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

1995. "Public Honour and Private Shame: The Urban Texture of Pompeii." In *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. Tim Cornell and Kathryn Lomas. London: University College London Press. Pp. 39–62.
- Walsh, P. G. 1997. *Petronius: The Satyricon*. Oxford: Oxford World's Classics.
- Walters, Jonathan. 1997. "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought." In *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pp. 29–43.
- Ward-Perkins, John, and Amanda Claridge. 1978. *Pompeii A.D. 79*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Watson, G. R. 1952. "Theta Nigrum." *Journal of Roman Studies* 42: 56–62.
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2000. "Why We Need More Research on Sex Work." In *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, ed. Ronald Weitzer. New York: Routledge. Pp. 1–13.
2009. "Sociology of Sex Work." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 213–234.
- Wharton, Amy. 2009. "The Sociology of Emotional Labor." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 147–165.
- Williams, Craig. 1998. "Review of Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner, eds. *Roman Sexualities*." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997." *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 10.16.
- 2010 [1999]. *Roman Homosexuality*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
2014. "Sexual Themes in Greek and Latin Graffiti." In *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas Hubbard. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. Pp. 493–507.
- Willman, Alys. 2010. "Let's Talk about Money." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 143–146.
- Willman, Alys, and Antonia Levy. 2010. "Introduction: Beyond the Sex in Sex Work." In *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*, ed. Melissa Ditmore, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. London: Zed Books. Pp. 1–6.
- Witzke, Serena. 2015. "Harlots, Tarts, and Husbands?: A Problem of Terminology for Sex Labor in Roman Comedy." *Helios* 42: 7–27.
- Woeckner, Elizabeth. 2002. "Women's Graffiti from Pompeii." In *Women Writing Latin from Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 1: *Women Writing Latin in Roman Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Early Christian Era*, ed. Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey. New York: Routledge. Pp. 67–84.
- Woolf, Greg. 2009. "Literacy or Literacies in Rome?" In *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. William Johnson and Holt Parker. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 46–68.
- Wray, David. 2001. *Catullus and the Poetics of Roman Manhood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wyler, Stéphanie. 2006. "Roman Replications of Greek Art at the Villa della Farnesina." *Art History* 29: 213–232.
- Zajac, Michel Josef. 2008. "Lessons from the Lupanar: Functional Design and Economic Operation of the Pompeian Purpose-Built Brothel." MA thesis, Arizona State University.

INDEX LOCORUM

[Acro]

ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31–32, 163n.11, 187n.93

L'Année épigraphique

2001 803, 110

Aristophanes

Lys. 1004, 193n.54

Athenaeus

558d–e, 192n.45

568a–b, 195n.110

568a–f, 189n.8

568c–d, 127

569a–d, 189n.8

570b, 195n.112

571e, 116

571f, 193n.59, 194n.63

578e, 195n.11

579d, 192n.17

579d–e, 189n.16

579e, 172n.51, 190n.51

580b, 116

582e, 193n.52

583e, 118

585a, 192n.18

585c, 192n.34

586b, 118

587b, 118

587c, 193n.52

588d, 192n.16

591c, 118

596c–d, 189n.16

608b–c, 189n.8

Cassius Dio

58.2.4, 194n.62

Catullus

16.1–2, 14, 132, 197n.21

37, 105

79.1, 136, 198n.51

Cicero

Mil. 55, 198n.38

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

3.13750, 188n.114

4.652 Add. p. 241, 198n.46

4.813, 20–21

4.1190 Add. p. 204, 176n.68

4.1281, 208n.87

4.1283, 198n.46

4.1286, 198n.46

4.1294 Add. p. 206, 198n.46

4.1309 Add. p. 206, 197n.27, 198n.46

4.1679 Add. p. 210, p. 463, p. 704, 189n.4,

194n.70, 198n.46

4.1827 Add. p. 212, 212n.172

4.1841, 120

4.1860, 191n.6

4.1869 Add. p. 213, 199n.66

4.1904 Add. pp. 214 and 465, 174n.16

4.1906, 174n.16

4.2028, 206n.44

4.2150 Add. p. 215, 198n.46

4.2173 Add. p. 215, 45, 59, 154, 174n.5, 175n.32,
177nn.81–82, 204nn.4 and 11

4.2174, 53, 54, 54, 63, 117, 154, 169n.82, 204n.12,
209n.115

4.2175, 53, 54, 54, 104, 131, 154, 174n.2, 189n.24,
190n.31

4.2176, 54, 54, 103, 137, 154, 174n.2, 190n.31,
192n.29, 197n.23

4.2177, 62, 154, 177n.80, 204n.16

4.2178, 154, 174n.2, 190nn.28 and 31, 197n.23

4.2178a, 154

4.2178b, 118, 154

4.2179, 54, 59, 135, 154, 176n.76

4.2180, 59, 63, 134–135, 154, 177n.102, 205n.25

4.2181 Add. p. 215, 154, 175n.35, 204n.4, 205n.29

4.2182, 109, 154

4.2183 Add. p. 465, 45, 60, 61, 62, 154, 174n.11,
189n.7

4.2184 Add. p. 215, 36, 59, 104, 109, 154, 174n.2,
189n.7, 190n.31, 197n.23, 203n.1

4.2185, 53–54, 55, 115, 154, 174n.2, 176n.58,
177n.91, 189n.25, 190n.31, 197n.23,
205n.36, 206n.42

4.2186, 54, 115, 154, 174n.2, 189n.25, 190n.31,
197n.23

4.2187, 103, 154, 174n.2, 190n.31, 192n.29,
197n.23

4.2188, 53–54, 55, 61, 104, 131, 154, 174n.2,
176n.58, 177n.91, 190n.31, 197n.16

4.2189, 118, 155

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (cont.)

- 4.2190, 155
 4.2191, 46, 60, 103, 126, 138, 155, 174n.2,
 189n.23, 190n.31, 197n.23, 206n.47
 4.2192 Add. p. 215, 104, 155, 174n.2, 175n.37,
 190n.31, 197n.15
 4.2193, 107, 155, 174n.2, 189n.4, 190n.31, 203n.1
 4.2194 Add. p. 465, 59, 102, 104, 109,
 131–132, 155, 174n.2, 190n.31
 4.2195, 155, 174n.2, 190nn.28 and 31, 197n.23,
 203n.1
 4.2196, 155, 213n.191
 4.2197 Add. p. 215, 155, 174n.2, 190n.31, 197n.18
 4.2198 Add. p. 215, 155, 174n.2, 190n.31,
 193n.54, 196n.5, 197n.23, 203n.1, 214n.215
 4.2199, 46, 60, 103, 118, 137, 155, 174n.2, 190n.31,
 195n.98, 205n.31, 206n.47
 4.2200 Add. p. 215, 44, 58, 103, 118, 137, 155,
 174n.2, 190n.31, 196n.15, 205n.31, 206n.49,
 207n.63
 4.2201, 45, 58, 61, 61–63, 109, 156
 4.2201a, 156, 203n.1
 4.2202 Add. p. 465, 59, 119, 121, 156, 205n.31
 4.2203 Add. p. 215, 119, 122, 156, 174n.2,
 189n.24, 190n.31, 194n.78, 196n.15,
 207n.77, 208n.79, 209n.126
 4.2204, 55, 56, 59, 118, 121, 121, 137, 156, 174n.2,
 176n.75, 196n.5, 207n.77, 208n.79, 209n.126
 4.2205, 156, 205n.28, 209n.103, 211n.162
 4.2206 Add. p. 215, 117, 156, 177n.102, 203n.1
 4.2207, 109, 156
 4.2208, 63, 133, 156
 4.2209, 57, 156, 196n.5, 199n.65, 203n.1
 4.2210, 104, 123, 131, 138, 156, 174n.2, 190n.31
 4.2211, 156
 4.2212 Add. p. 215, 59, 63, 109, 118, 124, 156,
 176n.69, 177n.102
 4.2213, 63, 123, 156, 189n.7
 4.2214, 102, 156, 203n.1
 4.2215, 156, 203n.1, 210n.130
 4.2216 Add. p. 215, 104, 156, 174n.2, 190n.31,
 197n.23, 203n.1
 4.2217, 108, 122, 123, 156, 174n.2, 188n.1,
 195n.103, 196n.5
 4.2218, 57, 115, 156, 174n.2, 189nn.25 and 27,
 190n.31, 196n.5, 197n.23, 199n.65
 4.2218a, 156, 205nn.35 and 37
 4.2219, 156, 174n.2, 189n.25, 190n.31, 192n.29,
 197n.23
 4.2220, 157, 203n.1
 4.2221, 118, 123, 157, 176n.69, 203n.1
 4.2222, 157
 4.2223, 157, 203n.1
 4.2224, 118, 157, 190n.31, 199n.66, 203n.1, 213n.188
 4.2225, 118, 123, 123, 157, 176n.69
 4.2226, 118, 123, 157, 176n.69
 4.2227, 118, 123, 157, 176n.69
 4.2227a, 157, 176n.69
 4.2228, 118, 124, 157, 176n.69, 189n.4, 203n.1
 4.2229, 157
 4.2230, 157
 4.2231 Add. p. 215, 62, 117, 123, 157, 204n.13,
 209n.115
 4.2232, 157, 174n.2, 190n.31, 199n.66
 4.2233, 157, 203n.1, 209n.123
 4.2234, 102, 157, 203n.1
 4.2235, 157, 203n.1, 207n.66, 215n.242
 4.2236, 157, 203n.1
 4.2237 Add. p. 215, 117–118, 122, 157, 175n.35,
 177n.102, 204n.5, 207n.77, 208n.79, 209n.126
 4.2238, 158, 203n.1
 4.2239, 109, 158, 177n.102, 203n.1
 4.2240 Add. p. 215, 158, 203n.1
 4.2241, 132, 158, 174n.2, 190n.28, 203n.1
 4.2242, 59, 102, 158, 174n.2, 190n.31, 197n.23,
 203n.1
 4.2243, 158, 203n.1
 4.2243a, 158, 203n.1
 4.2244, 56, 57, 102, 158, 210nn.143 and 145
 4.2245, 56, 57, 102, 158
 4.2245a, 56, 102, 158, 203n.1
 4.2246 Add. p. 465, 52, 52, 103, 158, 169n.82,
 174n.2, 176n.54, 190n.31, 197n.23,
 210nn.148 and 152
 4.2247 Add. p. 215, 52, 52, 104, 131, 158, 169n.82,
 174n.2, 176n.54, 190nn.29 and 31,
 210nn.148 and 152, 215n.243
 4.2248 Add. p. 215, 59–60, 102, 109, 159,
 174n.2, 175n.32, 190n.31, 197n.23,
 204nn.4–5, 211n.154
 4.2249 Add. p. 215, 159, 175n.33, 203n.1, 204n.4,
 211n.160
 4.2250 Add. p. 215, 159, 211n.157, 214n.226
 4.2251, 159, 199n.63, 203n.1
 4.2252, 58, 58, 137, 159
 4.2253, 58, 58, 115, 137, 159, 174n.2, 189n.25,
 190n.31, 197n.23
 4.2254 Add. p. 216, 106, 126, 139, 159, 174n.2,
 175n.35, 178n.15, 197n.18, 204n.4
 4.2255, 159
 4.2256, 159, 193n.54, 203n.1
 4.2257, 107, 126, 159, 174n.2, 178n.15, 203n.1
 4.2258, 57, 104, 159, 174n.2, 190n.31, 196n.5,
 199n.65
 4.2258a, 62, 132, 133, 159, 177n.92, 197n.19
 4.2259, 118, 160, 174n.2, 213n.188
 4.2260 Add. p. 216, 57, 103, 115, 137, 160, 174n.2,
 190n.31, 196n.5, 197n.23, 199n.65,
 212n.176, 214n.207
 4.2261, 160
 4.2262 Add. p. 465, 160
 4.2263, 102, 160, 175n.37
 4.2264, 160, 203n.1
 4.2265, 104, 131, 160, 174n.2, 190n.31
 4.2266, 118, 160, 174n.2, 190n.47, 194n.73,
 203n.1, 209n.107, 212n.177, 213nn.196–7,
 214nn.209, 219, and 220
 4.2267, 59, 160, 174n.11, 203n.1

- 4.2268, 41, 160, 174n.2, 178n.15, 190n.47,
 194n.73, 203n.1
 4.2269, 160, 203n.1, 213n.187
 4.2270, 102, 160, 203n.1
 4.2271, 41, 160, 194n.73, 203n.1,
 213n.194
 4.2272, 102, 160, 203n.1
 4.2273 Add. p. 216, 108, 160, 174n.2, 178n.15,
 193n.54, 194n.73, 203n.1
 4.2274 Add. 216, 57, 103, 115, 160, 174n.2,
 176n.68, 190n.31, 196n.5, 197n.23, 199n.65,
 208nn.89 and 98, 212nn.174 and 180,
 215n.238
 4.2275, 118, 120, 160, 174n.2, 178n.15, 190n.47,
 203n.1, 213n.188
 4.2276, 160, 203n.1
 4.2277, 104, 121, 132, 138, 160, 174n.2, 178n.15,
 190n.31, 203n.1
 4.2278, 120, 160, 174n.2, 178n.15, 190n.47,
 193n.54, 207n.62, 211n.170
 4.2279 Add. p. 216, 161, 174n.2, 189n.4,
 203n.1
 4.2280, 161
 4.2281, 102, 161
 4.2282, 161, 213n.187
 4.2283, 161
 4.2283a, 161, 203n.1
 4.2284, 161
 4.2285, 161
 4.2286, 161, 203n.1
 4.2287 Add. p. 216, 161, 204n.1
 4.2288, 104, 161, 174n.2, 190n.31, 196n.15
 4.2289, 161
 4.2290, 134, 162
 4.2291, 162
 4.2292, 59, 121, 162, 174n.2, 176n.59, 178n.15,
 190n.47, 193n.54, 203n.1
 4.2293, 162, 193n.54, 203n.1, 214n.205,
 215n.234
 4.2294, 58, 162, 196n.5, 199n.65,
 203n.1
 4.2295, 162, 203n.1
 4.2296 Add. p. 216, 162, 203n.1, 207nn.67 and
 71, 209n.122
 4.2402, 197n.15
 4.2461, 174n.16
 4.2487, 174n.16
 4.3101a, 162, 203n.1, 210n.149
 4.3200, 199n.66
 4.3494a, 41
 4.3999, 129
 4.4091, 189n.27
 4.4196, 194n.74
 4.4528, 194n.70
 4.4567, 198n.46
 4.5007, 206n.59
 4.5018, 198n.46
 4.5048, 207n.63
 4.5127, 193n.59
 4.5136, 198n.46
 4.5138, 198n.46
 4.5148, 198n.46
 4.5296, 194n.70
 4.5380, 36
 4.5408, 199n.66
 4.8203, 194n.70
 4.8204, 194n.70
 4.8218b, 194n.70
 4.8218k, 194n.70
 4.8873, 194n.70
 4.8939, 129
 4.8940, 129
 4.9146h, 198nn.46 and 48
 9.2689, 172n.58
 10.787, 188n.123
- Graffiti del Palatino*
 I.189, 197n.25
 I.230, 197n.25
 I.356, 197
 I.364, 138
- Horace
Epist. 1.14, 197n.27
Sat. 1.2.31–35, 2
Sat. 1.2.126, 118
- Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
 9455, 112
- Justinian
Dig. 23.2.43.3, 191n.6
- Juvenal
 3.131–134, 189n.5
 6.114–132, 189n.8
 6.114–135, 166n.25
 6.115–132, 6
 8.146–150, 195n.96
 9.27–31, 134
 9.41–42, 134
 9.45–46, 134
 9.70ff., 134
 9.101–123, 195n.96
 9.111–112, 125–126
 9.115–117, 128
 11.171–173, 164n.32
- Livy
 39.45.2ff., 134
- Lucian
Dial. D. 10, 197n.27
Dial. meret. 1
 280, 189n.16
Dial. meret. 2, 193n.46
 282.3, 172n.55, 189n.17
Dial. meret. 3, 192n.45
Dial. meret. 4, 194n.69
Dial. meret. 6, 192n.16

Lucian (cont.)

- 293.2–4, 189n.16
 294, 193n.59, 195n.110
Dial. meret. 7, 172n.51
 296, 190n.51, 192–193n.46
 298, 192n.18
Dial. meret. 8
 299–300, 192n.18
Dial. meret. 9
 303.3, 189n.16, 190n.54
 304, 189n.16
Dial. meret. 10, 194n.69
Dial. meret. 11
 308, 189n.16
 308–309, 116
 309, 193n.52
Dial. meret. 12, 195n.111
 311, 189n.16
 315, 189n.16
Dial. meret. 13
 317, 189n.16
Dial. meret. 14, 172n.51, 192n.40
 319.1, 190n.54
Dial. meret. 15
 322, 189n.16, 192n.18
 324.3, 190–191n.54

Lucretius

- 4.216–217, 193n.60
 6.921–923, 193n.60

Martial

- 1.31, 196n.10
 1.34, 164n.32, 177n.101, 189n.8
 2.43, 182n.95
 3.68.10, 119
 5.48, 196n.10
 7.37.2, 177n.97
 7.50, 182n.95
 7.62, 195n.96
 9.4, 190n.42
 9.5(6), 164n.32, 196n.13
 9.7(8), 196n.13
 9.17, 196n.10
 9.22, 182n.95
 9.25, 182n.95
 9.36, 196n.11
 9.56, 182n.95
 9.103, 182n.95
 10.98, 182n.95
 11.22.4, 121
 11.26, 182n.95
 11.45, 125, 164n.32
 11.61, 164n.32
 11.61.11, 121

Ovid

- Am.* 1.10.21, 164n.32
Am. 3.14.9–10, 164n.32

- Ars am.* 1.505–508, 172n.45
Ars am. 3.209ff., 173n.68
Ars am. 3.771–788, 127, 178n.11
Ars am. 3.773–774, 127
Ars am. 3.781–782, 127
Tr. 2.309–312, 199n.4

Palatine Anthology

- 12.34, 197n.31

Paul the Deacon

- 13.2, 183n.3

Persius

- 4.13, 177n.97

Petronius

- Sat.* 6–7, 5–6, 187n.93
Sat. 7, 166n.25, 189n.8
Sat. 8, 6
Sat. 75.10, 196n.11
Sat. 75.11, 134–135
Sat. 95, 188n.119
Sat. 103, 195n.99

Plautus

- Curc.* 35–38, 183n.109
Curc. 482, 163n.14
Persa 284–286, 134
Poen. 1298, 198n.48
Pseud. 767–787, 129–130, 134

Plutarch

- Mor.* 759f–760a, 128
Vit. Ant. 1, 172n.46

Pomponius Bononiensis

- Fr. 151–152 R, 196n.7

Priapea

- 40, 193n.46

Propertius

- 2.6.27–30, 193
 2.23.13–24, 191n.6

Quintilian

- Inst.* 8.5.17, 191n.56

[Quintilian]

- Maj. Decl.* 14–15, 117

Seneca the Elder

- Controv.* 1.2, 164n.32
Controv. 1.2.5, 191n.6
Controv. 4.praef.10, 135, 189n.18

Seneca the Younger

- De Vita Beata* 7.3, 164n.32
Ep. 47.7, 130
Ep. 56.1–2, 172n.45, 188n.109
QNat. 1.16.6, 164n.32

Servius

- ad *Aen.* 3.119, 135

Statius

- 2.6.52–53, 134

Suetonius

- Aug.* 83, 197n.29

Tabulae Vindolanae

II 257, 194n.68

II 291–293, 194n.68

II 294, 194n.68

III 635, 194n.68

Tacitus

Ann. 14.17, 62

Tertullian

De Culta Feminarum 2.8.2, 172n.45

Tibullus

1.4.11–12, 197n.27

1.4.58, 134

1.9, 198n.40

Ulpian

D. 5.3.27.1, 188n.115

D. 12.5.4.3, 191n.57

D. 39.5.5, 191n.55

Vergil

Aeneid 2.1, 208n.92

GENERAL INDEX

- actors/actresses
 conflation of prostitutes with, 118, 135–136
 L. Domitius Paris, 136
- affective communities, 61, 63
- Allison, Penelope, 33–35
- anal sex, 59, 102, 104, 106, 126, 131–132, 138–139, 141, 144, 174n.2, 178n.15, 190n.52, 196n.7
- apotropaic imagery, 20, 66, 80, 140, 185n.46
- arousal, sexual, 65, 71, 73, 79, 144
- Athens
 and building Z, 147
kalos acclamations in, 135–136
 pederasty in, 135
- Baird, Jennifer, 8, 110
- bathing. *See* bodily care in the brothel
- baths. *See* Pompeii, Suburban Baths (VII.16.a)
- Beard, Mary, 19, 48
- beds
 in the brothel. *See* platforms
 in Greek culture, 25
 linens on, in the brothel, 77, 140
 mattresses on, in the brothel, 38, 77, 140
 in Roman culture, 25–26, 26
- bell
 from doorway VII.12.20, 81, 86, 140, 151
 functions of, 87
- Benefiel, Rebecca, 42–43, 46, 62, 153
- Berg, Ria, 34, 38, 87, 163n.19
- Berry, Joanne, 33–34
- βιvēiv, 58, 104, 137, 174n.2
- bird, figural graffito of, 43, 46, 47, 140, 159
- bodily care in the brothel, 31, 33–38, 113, 140
- Boni, Giacomo, 22
- Bradley, Keith, 8, 112
- breast band. *See* *strophium*
- Brendel, Otto, 67
- brothels
 Greek
 functions of/activities in, 147
 integration into urban landscape of, 147
 ownership and management of, 147
 potential brothels, 200n.13
 modern, 116, 163n.12
 Roman. *See also* prostitution, Roman; prostitutes
 ambiance of, 9, 24, 27, 39, 73–77, 141, 144, 140
 cooking, evidence for, 90
 cribs, or *cellae meretriciae*, 4, 19–21, 201n.4
 criteria for identifying, 4–5, 31, 81, 90, 92–93, 163n.19, 170n.3
 drinking in, evidence for, 9, 24, 27, 31, 33, 36, 38, 100, 140, 143, 150, 173n.60
 eating in, evidence for, 27, 36, 38
 economics/profit of, 5, 31, 33, 36–37, 40–41, 51, 63, 77, 94, 146
 integration into urban landscape of, 3, 141–142
 and the law, 94
 in literature, 5–7, 18, 100, 125
 locations of, 5, 146
 and overlaps with other service establishments, 4, 13, 23–24, 36, 143, 163n.22
 ownership and management of, 142
 potential brothels, 21–24, 21–23, 167n.37
 and privacy, 9, 29
 and sound permeation, 13, 29–30, 142
 staffing of, 146
 waiting rooms of, 51
 and water supply, 113, 142
 and zoning, 4, 6, 141, 143, 192n.22
- Bulla Regia, 112
- Butler, Judith, 124
- Cato the Elder, 2, 163n.11
- Catullus, 105
- cellae meretriciae*. *See* brothels, Roman
- censorship of erotic material, 5, 40, 65, 178n.8
- children. *See* prostitutes, children as
- Clarke, John, 65, 67–68, 76, 80, 172n.57
- clients, 28, 34–36, 51, 61, 63, 113, 115–116, 124–125
 female, 129, 188n.1, 190n.48, 194n.80
 and masculinity, 9, 100–108, 110, 115, 120, 125, 144, 146, 195n.103, 197n.16
 occupations of, 36, 59, 104, 109, 143, 190–191n.54
 origins of, 41, 59, 71, 99, 143

- clients (cont.)
 and sexual abuse by masters/patrons, 71, 102
 societal approval for, 2
 status of, 40, 71, 73, 77, 79, 99–102, 107, 110, 116,
 126, 143–144, 146, 190n.54
 commerce, Pompeian, 146
 comparative methodologies, 7–8, 111–112
 confinement, of prostitutes, 16
 consent, 191n.62. *See also* prostitutes, and rape
 fiction of, 116
 lack of, 141
 Corinth, South Stoa at, 200n.14
 cosmetics, 31, 35–36, 89, 109–110, 117, 128, 134,
 140–141, 143, 150, 152
 couches. *See* beds
 courtesans, 36, 101, 109, 116–117, 127, 143–144, 147,
 190n.54, 193n.59, 195n.112
 cunnilingus/*cunnum lingere*, 66, 107, 126, 129,
 174n.2, 178n.15, 196n.105, 198n.52
 curtains, 18, 38, 124, 140, 173n.69, 175n.39

 Delos, 200n.14
 desire. *See* arousal, sexual
 dining, 88–89, 140, 152, 184n.32
 at bars/taverns, 21–24, 187n.75
 in the brothel. *See* brothels, Roman, eating in,
 evidence for
 in rental units, 93
 drinking. *See* brothels, Roman, drinking in,
 evidence for; prostitution, Roman, and
 drinking
 doors, 16, 29, 80–81, 85–87, 115
 bell at doorway 20. *See* bell, from doorway
 VII.12.20
 interior, 15, 17, 19, 29, 100, 124, 140
 ground floor, evidence for, 17–18
 upper floor, evidence for, 82, 85, 89, 91, 140
 locks on, 16, 86–87, 91, 140, 151
 viewpoints from or through, 27–28, 28, 30, 64,
 124, 142

 erotic art, 193–194n.60
 drawings by Henri Roux. *See* Roux, Henri
 frescoes in the House of the Vettii. *See* Pompeii,
 House of the Vettii (VI.15.1)
 frescoes in the National Archaeological Museum
 of Naples, 68–69, 68, 70, 74, 74
 frescoes in the purpose-built brothel, 9, 27, 28–29,
 65, 66, 67, 70, 72–73, 74, 76, 86, 100, 102, 119,
 125, 144, 149–150
 frescoes in the Suburban Baths. *See* Pompeii,
 Suburban Baths (VII.16.a)
 frescoes in the Villa della Farnesina. *See* Rome,
 Villa della Farnesina
 on lamps, 67–68, 69, 70–71, 71, 75, 75,
 179n.36, 180nn.39 and 45
 on mirrors, 69, 180n.41, 181n.74
 Nilotic frescoes, 66, 180n.47
 Warren Cup, 69, 181n.54

 erotic catalogues. *See* sex manuals
 evil eye. *See* apotropaic imagery
 exploitation. *See* labor

 fellatio/*fellare*, 41, 66–67, 108, 120–121, 174n.2,
 178n.15
 fellatrix/*fellatrices*, 59, 121
 feminist methodologies, 8
 figurae *Veneris*. *See* sex manuals
 Fiorelli, Giuseppe, 5, 17, 24, 27, 31–32, 34,
 81–82, 88, 90–92, 135, 149–150, 152,
 166n.11, 184n.27
 Flemming, Rebecca, 7–8, 122, 147
 food. *See* dining
 forme di pasticceria, 35, 150
 fountains, 113–115, 114, 142
 Franklin, James L. Jr., 40, 43, 115, 136
 freed slaves. *See* slaves
 frescoes. *See* erotic art
 Freud, Sigmund, 107
 furniture. *See* beds; platforms, tables
futuere, 59–61, 102–104, 123, 132, 136–137, 174n.2
fututrix/fututrices, 59, 121, 121–122, 136–137

 gambling, 87, 151
 gender
 deviation from norms
 female, 66, 108
 male, 66, 102, 106–108, 126, 139
 norms
 female, 119
 male, 100–104, 108, 125, 183n.109
 gifts, to prostitutes, 9, 35–36, 109–110, 117, 134, 141,
 143, 190–191n.54
Giornale dei soprastanti, 32, 149, 151
 gladiators
 association with prostitutes and actors of, 136
 representation in the brothel of, 43, 59, 62, 154
 Glazebrook, Allison, 147
 graffiti, 41
 as advertisements, 59, 108, 137
 and areas of movement, 50–51
 authorship of, 42, 120, 122, 137
 content of
 in the brothel, 9, 42, 56, 141, 40
 in general, 40, 42, 44, 60
 definition of, 42
 distribution in brothel of, 42, 47–51, 49, 56–58
 and doorjambs, 17, 43, 48, 51, 56, 57
 figural, 42–44, 44, 46, 46, 59–60, 102, 106, 109,
 121, 122, 126, 139–140, 144, 153, 158
 in Greek, 41, 55, 56, 58–59, 102, 104, 115, 121,
 135, 137
 and greetings, 9, 61, 62–63, 109, 113, 117, 124,
 133–134, 140, 143, 145
 height from floor of, 27, 42, 51–56, 52, 55, 141
 and illiteracy, 42–43, 47, 60, 102, 144
 invective in, 129, 139
 and literacy, 42–43, 120, 153

- locations at Pompeii of, 42
multiple authors of, 60–63, 153, 177n.94, 197n.18,
205n.31, 206n.58, 209n.113, 210n.150,
212n.182
in Oscan, 58, 207n.64
threats in, 106, 177n.80
and ventriloquism, 56
and Vergil quotations, 63, 123
in verse, 42, 133
Grahame, Mark, 125
Green, F. Mira, 79, 116, 118
group sex, 66, 104
Guzzo, Pietro Giovanni, 40, 90, 93, 166n.10
- hair, facial, 9, 31, 34–35, 113, 130–131, 140–141
Harris, William, 42
Herculaneum, 25–26, 34, 173n.62, 179nn.35–36,
180nn.41 and 49, 182n.93, 185n.46, 188n.103
House of the Carbonized Furniture (V.5), 37,
169n.78
House of Opus Craticum (III.13–15), 38, 93
House of the Wooden Partition (III.11–12), 38
hetairai, 147
homoeroticism, 66–67, 125
female, 66, 196n.5
male, 66–67, 69, 71, 144
housing
and commercial activities, 93, 142, 188n.103
and rental units, 9, 93–94, 141–142, 185n.33
and sight lines. *See* sight lines, in houses
House of the Vettii. *See* Pompeii, House of the
Vettii (VI.15.1)
humor, 61, 103–104
- illiteracy. *See* graffiti, and illiteracy
invective, 106–107, 198n.37
irumare, 104, 120, 132, 174n.2, 178n.15
- Jacobelli, Luciana, 93, 187n.81
Joshel, Sandra, 114–115
- kalos* acclamations. *See* Athens, *kalos* acclamations in
- labor
emotional, 10, 103, 110–111, 113, 115–118, 133,
135, 138–139, 145–146
ideological, 108, 110, 113, 120, 145
physical, 113, 130, 141, 145
sexual, 108, 110–111, 113, 130, 135, 141, 145
lamps. *See* erotic art, on lamps; lighting, and lamps
latrines, 15, 20, 28, 85, 91, 94, 113, 125, 168n.51
Laurence, Ray, 4, 192n.22
leno/a. *See* manager
Librette inventariali, 33
lighting
and lamps, 21, 24, 33, 38, 45, 76–77, 88–89, 140,
150, 152
and windows, 15–18, 17, 20, 45, 50, 84–85, 89,
188n.109
- literacy. *See* graffiti, and literacy
locks. *See* doors, locks on
lodging
slave, 18–19, 22, 24, 184n.33
traveler, 19, 24, 82, 93–94, 141
Lugli, Giuseppe, 23, 167n.44
- madam. *See* manager
Maiuri, Amadeo, 16, 84–85, 165n.6, 166n.7
manager, 2, 31, 36, 51, 81–82, 93–94, 112, 118, 129,
133–134, 141–142
Marshall, C. W., 8, 116–117
masculinity. *See* gender, norms, male
mattresses. *See* beds, mattresses on, in the brothel
McGinn, Thomas, 4–6, 8, 19, 31, 36, 40, 90, 92, 94,
111–112, 143, 199n.4, 200n.4
men. *See* gender
Messalina, 6
Mola. *See* prostitutes, female, Mola
Mols, Stephan, 26, 37–38, 169n.68
moral zoning. *See* brothels, Roman, and zoning
Moregine, 110
Myerowitz, Molly, 127
- names
and ethnicity, 41, 99
and social status, 40, 99
stage names, 61, 118–119, 133, 137
ubiquity in graffiti of, 40, 56, 102
Neaira, 147
Nilotic frescoes. *See* erotic art, Nilotic frescoes
Notamenti degli oggetti spediti al Museo
Nazionale, 33
Nuceria, 61, 62
- objectification. *See* prostitutes, and objectification
oral sex, 66–67, 102, 125, 141
forced. *See* *irumare*
performed upon females. *See* cunnilingus/*cunnum*
lingere
performed upon males. *See* fellatio/*fellare*
pollution of, 66, 108
Ostia, 38, 187n.99
- Paris, L. Domitius. *See* actors/actresses, L. Domitius
Paris
pederasty. *See* Athens, pederasty in
pedicare. *See* anal sex
penetration. *See also* anal sex; fellatio/*fellare*; *future*;
gender, *irumare*
and agency, 122, 137
of male clients, 106, 126, 138–139, 141
of prostitutes, 113, 126, 129, 141, 145, 190n.52
perfume, 31, 35–36, 89, 109–110, 117, 128, 134,
140–141, 143, 150
Petersen, Lauren Hackworth, 114–115
phallus
as apotropaic, 80, 185n.46
as bringing good luck, 80

- phallus (cont.)
 figural graffiti of, 44, 46–47, 102, 106, 122,
 139–140, 144, 154, 157, 159
 and Priapus, 80
 pimp. *See* manager
 Pirson, Felix, 94, 187n.99
 Pithecusa, 61, 62
 platforms, 13, 17, 21–22, 24–27, 29, 37, 51, 54–55,
 65, 76, 85, 91, 101, 140, 143, 150, 199n.61
 Poli Capri, Paola, 149, 200–201n.4, 202n.22
 Pompeii
 Caupona of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1),
 172n.57
 House of the Beautiful Impluvium (I.9.1),
 181n.70
 House of Caecilius Jucundus (V.1.26), 79,
 181n.66
 House of the Centenary (IX.8.6), 68, 75, 179n.32
 House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6–7), 36–37,
 78, 182n.93
 House of the Ephebe (I.7.11), 70
 House of Jason (IX.5.18), 193n.59, 198n.46
 House of the King of Prussia (VII.9.33), 180n.46
 House of the Menander (I.10.4), 18, 28, 87
 House of Obellius Firmus (IX.14.2–4), 101
 House of Siricus (VII.1.47), 151–152, 170n.8, 183n.4
 House of the Triclinium (V.2.4), 78, 182n.93
 House of the Vettii (VI.15.1), 68, 74, 80, 179n.32,
 199n.8
 Insula VII.12, 88, 95, 151, 184–185n.33
 Suburban Baths (VII.16.a), 66, 68–69, 72, 72, 74,
 198n.46
 Tavern of Salvius (VI.14.36), 41
 I.13.16, 180n.45, 181n.66
 VII.1.44–45a, 183n.4, 187n.75
 VII.2.25, 67
 VII.7.18, 68
 VII.11.11, 14, 36, 94, 149, 151, 202n.21
 VII.11.12, 20–21, 151
 VII.11.13, 151–152
 VII.12.15, 115, 201n.4
 VII.12.16, 200–201n.4
 VII.12.17, 95, 152, 183n.4, 188n.109, 200–201n.4
 VII.12.21, 95, 184n.4
 IX.1.22, 182n.93
 IX.5.14–16, 74, 179nn.32, 35, and 37, 180n.46
pomai, 147
 Priapus, 10, 64, 80, 119, 139
 prices for sexual services. *See* prostitution, Roman,
 fees/payment for
 privacy. *See* brothels, Roman, and privacy
 profiles/portraits, figural graffiti of, 43, 46–47, 46,
 59–60, 109, 126, 140, 144, 154–155, 159
 profit. *See* brothels, Roman, economics/profit of
 prostitutes. *See also* brothels; prostitution
 and bodily care, 113, 128
 children as, 112, 116, 133, 196n.13
 confinement of, 16
 and drinking, 113, 128, 141, 143, 145
 female
 and femininity, 59, 108
 Mola, 55, 56, 59, 61, 119, 122, 136, 174n.6
 gifts to, 9, 35–36, 109–110, 117, 134, 141, 143,
 190–191n.54
 and gossip against/mockers clients, 10, 111,
 125–127, 139, 141, 145
 and interactions with other prostitutes, 29,
 127–128
 legal restrictions of, 2, 94, 109, 112, 118, 130,
 191n.2
 literacy of, 43, 103, 108, 115, 120, 122, 133
 male, 2, 10, 35, 105, 133, 141, 192n.30
 and age, 2, 10, 128, 130–131, 139
 and beauty, 59, 130–131, 134–139, 141
 and facial hair. *See* hair, facial
 and feminization, 131–132
 invisibility in the brothel's frescoes of, 130, 132,
 139
 invisibility in modern scholarship of, 129
 and physical resistance, 10, 128, 130, 138–139
 and objectification, 28, 100, 108, 125, 127, 138,
 141, 144–145
 origins of, 41
 penetrating clients. *See* penetration, of male
 clients
 and rape, 112. *See also* consent
 rest/leisure for, 51, 127–128
 and self-care, 10, 128, 141
 and sexual agency, 10, 107–108, 119–124,
 138–139, 141, 145
 sexual availability of, 112
 as sexual subjects, 10, 122–124, 138, 145
 and sleeping arrangements, 9, 38–39, 92–93
 and social mobility, 113, 115, 117–118, 130,
 134–135, 138, 145
 and stage names. *See* names, stage names
 status of, 2, 40, 92, 111–112, 116, 119, 130, 141,
 174n.6
 and surveilling clients, 72, 111, 125–126, 141, 145
 terminology for, 194n.64
 and theft, 112–113, 128
 and their families, 59, 113, 128, 143
 and violence, 112, 129
 visibility outside the brothel of, 29, 41–42, 111,
 113–115, 142
 visibility within the brothel of, 28–29, 142
 prostitution. *See also* brothels; prostitutes
 Greek, 192n.41, 193n.48, 196n.1, 198n.42
 hierarchy within, 117, 147
 overlaps with Roman prostitution of, 146–147
 modern, 7–8, 115–116, 124, 164n.33, 191n.14,
 193n.48
 Roman. *See also* brothels, Roman; clients;
 prostitutes
 and drinking, 36, 100–101, 116, 141, 143–144
 fees/payment for, 99, 124

- hierarchy within, 81, 92, 100–101, 109–110, 143, 182n.89
 and honor, 2
 legality of, 2, 188n.114
 locations of, 2–4, 92, 146
 pueri, 133
 Pulcher, Publius Clodius, 23, 136
 Puteoli, 61, 62, 167n.37

 rape. *See* consent; prostitutes, and rape
 Rapporto dell'architetto, 32
 rental properties. *See* housing, and rental units
 Richlin, Amy, 107, 133, 197n.28
 rivalries, local, 9, 60–62, 61, 143
 Rome
 apartment building at base of Capitoline hill, 93–94, 173n.77
 Forum Boarium, 21, 21
 Imperial Paedagogium on Palatine hill, 138, 193n.56, 197nn.25 and 27, 199n.72
 potential brothels in. *See* brothels, Roman, potential brothels
 Roman Forum, 22, 22–23
 Upper Via Sacra, 22–24, 23
 Vicus Tuscus, 4
 Villa della Farnesina, 76, 77, 78
 Roux, Henri, 69, 71, 74, 77, 179n.32

 Scarano Ussani, Vincenzo, 40, 90, 93, 166n.10
 Scaurus, Marcus Aemilius, 23
 Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 105
 sex. *See* anal sex; cunnilingus/*cunnum lingere*; fellatio/*fellare*; *futuere*; group sex; *irrumare*; oral sex
 sex manuals, 65, 72, 178n.14, 181n.53
 sex toys, 66, 199n.70
 sex trafficking, 198n.38
 sexual abuse. *See* clients, and sexual abuse by masters/patrons; prostitutes, and rape; slaves, and sexual abuse by masters; slaves, and lingering sexual obligations after freedom
 sexual objectification. *See* prostitutes, and objectification
 ship, figural graffito of, 43, 44, 46–47, 121, 140
 sight lines
 in the brothel, 9, 13, 27, 27–29, 64, 65, 66, 72, 100, 124–125, 141, 144
 in houses, 28, 101
 into latrines, 142
 slaves
 and brands/tattoos, 112, 126
 depictions in banquet scenes of, 78, 101, 144
 depictions in erotic scenes of, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 144, 182n.89
 and hope for manumission, 117–118, 134–135
 and lingering sexual obligations after freedom, 71, 102, 135, 144
 quarters/lodging of. *See* lodging, slave
 resistance of, 114, 125, 128
 and sexual abuse by masters, 99, 102, 112, 130, 134, 144
 and slave collars, 112
 and slave names, 118, 193n.56, 197n.27, 199n.64
 tactics of, 114–115, 128
 violence against, 112, 129
 and visual axes, 144
 sleep. *See* beds; lodging; prostitutes, and sleeping arrangements
 slippers, 74–75, 181n.74
 Sogliano, Antonio, 14, 82–84, 92, 165n.1, 166n.7
 sound. *See* brothels, Roman, and sound permeation
 Sprinkle, Annie, 7, 116
 stage names. *See* names, stage names
 storage, within the brothel, 34, 37–38
 storerooms, 18–19, 22, 24, 34, 184n.33
 Strong, Anise, 19, 144, 172n.56
strophium, 67, 67, 69, 179n.34, 180nn.46 and 50
 Suburban Baths. *See* Pompeii, Suburban Baths (VII.16.a)

 tables
 in the brothel, 37, 77, 140
 at Herculaneum, 37
 threshold(s), 16, 20, 185nn.34 and 47
 and types of door closure, 16, 18, 21–22, 85, 89, 91
 time
 prostitutes' manipulation of, 128, 145
 spent in the brothel by clients, 60, 63, 77, 109, 113, 146
 toilets. *See* latrines
 Tomei, Maria, 23–24
 Tsakiris, Barbara, 147

 Van der Poel, Halsted, 149, 200–201n.4, 202n.21
 Varone, Antonio, 40, 48, 51, 58, 60, 80, 92, 99, 111, 129, 132, 142, 153, 188n.1, 190n.48, 194n.80
 Vergil. *See* graffiti, and Vergil quotations
 Villa della Farnesina. *See* Rome, Villa della Farnesina
 Vindolanda tablets, 120
 visual axes. *See* sight lines

 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew, 4
 Warren Cup. *See* erotic art, Warren Cup
 Williams, Craig, 56, 129, 189n.26, 194n.80
 windows. *See* lighting, and windows
 Witzke, Serena, 112
 women. *See* gender
 work. *See* labor
 Wray, David, 105

 Zajac, Michel, 18, 85, 93–94, 165n.2, 184nn.15 and 32
 zoning. *See* brothels, Roman, and zoning

